

# DAILY REPORT

*People's Republic of China*

Vol I No 14

20 January 1978

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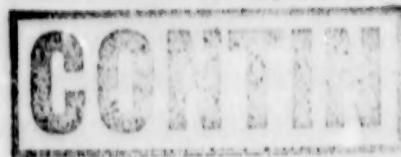
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Item 853-B-7 PrEx 210 FBIS CHI 78-14

FBIS-CHI-78-14  
Friday  
20 January 1978  
Vol I No 14

# DAILY REPORT

COMPLETED  
ORIGINAL



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# PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A 1

GENERAL

TENG DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH USSR, OTHER WORLD TOPICS

OW200734Y Hong Kong AFP in English 0720 GMT 20 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Peking, Jan, 20 (AFP)--Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping said in an interview today that there was no possibility of any rapprochement between China and the Soviet Union.

Interviewed by Jacqueline Dubois of the French television the Chinese vice-premier warned that China was not afraid of the Soviet Union in case the Russians attempted a war of aggression.

Mr. Teng predicted that the country that had launched the conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam would "come to no good end". His remark followed an earlier despatch by the official NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY blaming the Soviet Union for the Cambodian-Vietnam conflict. China has supported Cambodia in this affair.

Asked whether China would modify its policy towards France if the left won the coming French general elections, Teng Hsiao-ping replied that this would depend on the new leaders' attitude, but the people of the two countries had always enjoyed friendly relations. If the French position towards China continued the two countries would remain on good terms and there would be no problem, Mr. Teng said.

Questioned on a possible Sino-Soviet rapprochement, Mr. Teng replied with another question: "Do you think the Soviet's social-imperialist nature could change? I don't." In reply to another question the Chinese vice-premier said he had not considered the possibility of a Sino-Soviet conflict sparked by American meddling, which would push certain Chinese leaders into Russian arms. Mr. Teng said: "Perhaps some people would like to see war between China and the Soviet Union. If the Soviets dared attack we would not be afraid".

Asked for his views on the reasons and development of the Cambodian-Vietnamese conflict, Teng Hsiao-ping said: "They should not fight among themselves. Whoever provoked this conflict will come to no good end. It is the same for anyone committing aggression against another country as France and the United States discovered. They sent 500,000 modernly equipped troops to Vietnam and Cambodia but were eventually beaten."

The vice-premier continued that this was why China was not afraid of the Soviet Union despite its military superiority: "What counts is to know whether a war is just or unjust. Those carrying out a war of aggression may have the upper hand for a while, but in the long term will lose. This is what happened to the Americans and would happen to the Soviets if they launched a war on us."

JAPANESE SOURCES SAY PRC PURCHASING MIG-23 FROM EGYPT

OW190041Y Tokyo KYODO in English 0016 GMT 19 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Tokyo, Jan 19, KYODO--China has recently purchased a Russian MIG-23 fighter plane from Egypt as part of its military modernization drive, Defense Agency sources revealed Wednesday. The sources said that China also intends to obtain SAM land-to-air missiles, MAT anti-tank missiles, and T-62 tanks from the Egyptian military.

The military hardware transactions with Egypt are one aspect of a concerted effort by China since the fall of the "gang of four" to narrow the technological gap between the Chinese Army and Soviet forces along the Chinese border, the sources said.

They said China's fighter plane strength is now comprised mainly of out-of-date MIG-17's and 19's. The People's Army has only about 75 MIG-21's capable of fighting on an even level with Japan's F-4 Phantom fighters. Production of China's domestically developed F-9 Shenyang has been stopped as a result of unresolved problems in its engine, the sources said.

After unsuccessfully trying to obtain a MIG-23 for development purposes from North Korea, China turned to Egypt, which received a large arsenal of Soviet weaponry before breaking off relations with Moscow in 1975, they said. Different military sources in Tokyo have speculated that the cooling of China relations with the extremist nations of the Middle East and their open support of Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat's peace initiative with Israel is linked with China's pressing need for advanced military equipment. The agency sources said that in return for the MIG-23, Egypt apparently received from China MIG-17 and MIG-21 parts needed to repair planes damaged in the fourth Middle East war of 1973. They also said that the SAM and MAT missiles and T-62 tanks will be purchased in small numbers for research and development purposes. China's military modernization program is designed to counter the Soviet force to its north and not as a direct threat to Japan, the sources concluded.

#### PEOPLE'S DAILY HAILS SECOND WORLD ANTIHEGEMONY STRUGGLE

OW192211Y Peking NCNA in English 2138 GMT 19 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Peking, January 19, 1978 (HSTNNWA)--"It is absolutely necessary and correct for the people of the Second World countries, faced as they are today with the threat of bullying, oppression and aggression by Soviet social-imperialism, to expose thoroughly the Kremlin's war machinations, oppose appeasement and be well prepared for a war against the aggressor. The proletarians of these countries should, therefore, come to the forefront of a national war, if such a war is imposed upon them, and fight for the survival and independence of their nations."

This is the conclusion reached by the writers of a signed article in the PEOPLE'S DAILY here yesterday after a review of Lenin's theoretical expositions on the question of "defence of the fatherland". [A Peking Radio report identifies the authors of the article as (Sa Na), (Chou Li-pen) and (Chen Yung-hsing) of the World History Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.]

The article says that these expositions boil down to two points:

1. World War One was an imperialist war and the two combating parties in the war were both reactionaries; thus the proletariat of the countries concerned should oppose this imperialist war and turn it into revolutionary civil wars;
2. Nevertheless, this does not rule out the possibility of a national war in Europe in the conditions obtaining at the time. The wars fought by the weak and small nations against annexation and oppression are just. And given certain conditions, even the war waged by an imperialist country subjected to invasion may become a just war for the defence of national independence.

In 1914, when the First World War broke out, Lenin, basing himself on the Marxist axiom "war is the continuation of politics by other means", comprehensively analysed the root cause of the war, showed with penetrating insight the rapacious and reactionary nature of this imperialist war and called on the proletariat of the country concerned to oppose it resolutely.

He raised the slogans "Convert the imperialist war into a civil war" and work for "the defeat of one's 'own' government in the imperialist war". (Lenin: "Socialism and War")

Lenin pointed out in 1917: "In the imperialist war of 1914-17, between two imperialist coalitions, we must be against 'defence of the fatherland', since (1) imperialism is the eve of socialism, (2) imperialist war is a war of thieves over their booty, (3) in both coalitions there is an advanced proletariat, (4) in both, a socialist revolution is ripe. Only for these reasons are we against 'defence of the fatherland', only for these reasons!" (Lenin: "To Inessa Armand," January 19, 1917)

These scientific analyses of Lenin's demolished the fallacies of social-chauvinism at the time and drew a clear line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism of the Second International, the article says.

While showing and repudiating the main tendency involving the social-chauvinists of the Second International who tried to justify their treacherous activities on the plea of "defence of the fatherland", Lenin sternly criticized the "left" opportunist views propounded by those within the party such as G.L. Pyatakov and N.I. Bukharin as well as certain muddled ideas within the ranks of the revolutionaries. At that time, Pyatakov, Bukharin and their like wanted to "go somewhat more to the left" on the question of "defence of the fatherland". They rabidly interfered with Lenin's correct approach to wars in the era of imperialism and the tactics of proletarian struggle. They either denied the possibility of a national war in the era of imperialism and maintained that in no circumstances should the proletariat raise the slogan "Defence of the fatherland", or considered imperialist war as something rigid and inconvertible and wrongly adopted a mechanical and rigid attitude towards the proletarian tactics in struggle formulated by Lenin.

Lenin himself considered imperialist war a typical but not the only phenomenon in the epoch of imperialism. In this epoch, wars of national liberations fought by the colonies or semi-colonies are inevitable; what is more, democratic or revolutionary national wars are still possible in Europe. "This 'epoch' has made the policies of the present great powers thoroughly imperialist, but it by no means precludes national wars on the part of, say, small (annexed or nationally-oppressed) countries against the imperialist powers...." (Lenin: "The Junius Pamphlet")

Lenin also believed that under given conditions, even a most industrially developed country may fight a national war against annexation by an imperialist power, because "the characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex not only agrarian territories, but even most highly industrialised regions". ("Lenin: "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism") Therefore, he stated in the strongest terms: "We are not at all against 'defence of the fatherland' in general, not against 'defensive wars' in general. You will never find that nonsense in a single resolution (or in any of my articles). We are against defence of the fatherland and a defensive position in the imperialist war of 1914-16.... But in the imperialist epoch there may be also 'just', 'defensive', revolutionary wars (namely (1) national, (2) civil, (3) socialist and suchlike)." (Lenin: "To G.Y. Zinov'yev," August 1916)

Lenin also showed the possibility of an imperialist war being converted into a national war under given conditions, in the light of the law of the unity of opposites. He wrote in "the Junius Pamphlet": "That all dividing lines, both in nature and society, are conditional and dynamic, and that every phenomenon might, under certain conditions, be transformed into its opposite, is, of course, a basic proposition of Marxist dialectics. A national war might be transformed into an imperialist war and vice versa."

Dealing with the First World War, Lenin pointed out that Belgium went into the war with the same imperialist aims and showed its own imperialist rapacity. Meanwhile, he envisaged the possibility of transformation if German imperialism occupied and annexed Belgium in that war and the Belgian people rose in a national uprising to free themselves from German imperialism enslavement. In such a case, for Belgium alone, the imperialist war would become a national war, and it would be justifiable and correct for the Belgian socialists to issue the call for the "defence of the fatherland". By the same reason, the international proletariat cannot refuse to support the uprising on the plea that the Belgian bourgeoisie was "prone to oppress other nations". It must see the actual social content of the uprising as a struggle of an oppressed nation for liberation from the oppressor nation and lend support to it. "There is nothing Marxist" in any other stand the international proletariat might take, Lenin stressed.

The aforementioned teachings of Lenin's tell us that while opposing the opportunists' view of defence of the fatherland in an imperialist war, the Marxists should never hold that in the era of imperialism one can indiscriminately deny national wars and deny the justification of defence of the fatherland by the proletariat under certain conditions. On the contrary, "it is precisely in the era of imperialism", which is the era of nascent social revolution, that the proletariat will today give especially vigorous support to any revolt of the annexed regions so that tomorrow, or simultaneously, it may attack the bourgeoisie of the 'great' power that is weakened by the revolt." (V.I. Lenin, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", "Collected Works," Vol. 22, p 333) As to whether wars breaking out in the era of imperialism should be supported and whether the justification of defence of the fatherland should be recognized, the proletariat should by no means stick to hard and fast formulas, but should make concrete analysis of each war, because "wars are a supremely varied, diverse, complex thing. One cannot approach them with a general pattern." (V.I. Lenin, "To Inessa Armand", "Collected Works," Vol. 35, p 273)

During the Second World War, Stalin basing himself on these principles of Lenin's, made a concrete analysis of the war and concluded that it was not a typical imperialist war like the First World War, nor was it immutable and inconvertible. He said, "The Second World War against the Axis powers, unlike the First World War, assumed from the very outset the character of an anti-fascist war, a war of liberation, one of the tasks of which was to restore democratic liberties." (Speech delivered at an election meeting in the Stalin election district, Moscow) It is evident that during the Second World War the slogan of "Defence of the Fatherland" was correct for countries fighting against fascism. Likewise, it was also correct for the Soviet Union to form an anti-fascist alliance with the United States, Britain and France in a common effort to defeat the German, Italian and Japanese fascists in their war of aggression to enslave the people of the whole world.

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The tactics and policies adopted by Stalin were undoubtedly in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist principles on tactics.

From the foregoing analyses, one can see that the basic Marxist-Leninist position and approach to the question of wars between nations or countries are: We should discern the nature of a war by examining what politics the war has continued; we should analyse the historical role of each war by examining it under given conditions of the time; we should concretely decide our attitude towards the war by proceeding from the general situation in the whole world and the interests of the proletariat as a whole and basing ourselves on such conditions as the balance of class forces, the ripening or not of the conditions for revolution and the prospects of the war and proletarian revolution.

At present, Soviet social-imperialism which is on the offensive in its contention with the United States, is feverishly making war deployment in Europe. This poses a grave threat to the independence and security of the West European countries. If a new war breaks out, the West European countries would inevitably bear the brunt of the Soviet attack. Thus they are in fact faced with the grave problem of safeguarding their national independence.

Concluding, the article says: It is absolutely necessary and correct for the people of the Second World countries, faced as they are today with the threat of bullying, oppression and aggression by Soviet social-imperialism, to expose thoroughly the Kremlin's war machinations, oppose appeasement and be well prepared for a war against the aggressor. The proletarians of these countries should, therefore, come to the forefront of a national war, if such a war is imposed upon them, and fight for the survival and independence of their nations.

#### UNITED STATES

MONDALE CONCLUDES VISIT TO CANADA 18 JAN

OW191628Y Peking NCNA in English 1620 GMT 19 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Ottawa, January 19, 1978 (HSINHUA)--Concluding his two-day official visit to Canada, U.S. Vice President Walter Mondale left here for home this evening. Mondale had had talks with Canadian Governor General Jules Leger, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, and Deputy Prime Minister Allan MacEachen on bilateral relations as well as international issues of mutual concern.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, Mondale said that he and Prime Minister Trudeau had reviewed the great progress in the relationships between the two countries in the last 12 months. "We discussed the Middle East, U.S.-Soviet relations, the SALT, and several other issues," he noted. "We agreed on a number of actions to further progress on problems of mutual concern and to bring our cooperation into new areas," he stated.

Speaking at a luncheon in honour of Vice President Mondale yesterday, Canadian Deputy Prime Minister MacEachen pointed out that Mondale's visit carried forward the 'process of close consultations among leaders (of Canada and the U.S.)' and provided the two countries with an opportunity "to reflect on recent achievements and future challenges."

## SOVIET UNION

PEOPLE'S DAILY ATTACKS SOVIET SPYING IN EUROPE

HK200535Y Peking PEOPLE'S DAILY in Chinese 15 Jan 78 p 4 HK

[Article by Fang Min [2455 2404]: "Infiltrate by Hook or by Crook"]

[Text] West Germany has recently revealed the discovery of two espionage cases. On 4 January, West Germany disclosed that two spies, "secret agents for a power in the East," were arrested for pilfering military information concerning West Germany and NATO. Earlier, on 13 December last year, the West German Ministry of National Defense revealed that a significant espionage case had been solved in June 1976. The relevant spy ring provided Soviet-controlled information organs and the Warsaw Treaty Organization with a liberal supply of secret military documents from the West German Ministry of National Defense, causing "extremely serious" damage to the defense establishment of West Germany and West Europe. The two espionage cases recently made public by the West German authorities have to do with military information on West European defenses being supplied to the Soviet Union. This is bound to cause concern and unease in the West.

West Germany is wedged between two opposing military blocs. It is a chief target of the Soviet Union and its controlled information organs in rabidly carrying out espionage activities. The number of the new tsars' secret agents in this country and the scope of their activities have reached alarming proportions. Take 1976, for example. Cases of espionage activities by the Soviet Union and some other countries, as confirmed by the West German authorities, were twice as many as in 1975. Forty-eight spies of the Soviet Union and some other countries were arrested while 37 others fled West Germany. Estimates by West German security officials put the number of spies of the Soviet Union and other countries now active in West Germany at 8,000 to 10,000. The KGB's tentacles have infiltrated into every nook and corner of West Germany.

Soviet espionage activities in West Germany are by no means isolated. They are part of their strategy for infiltration and expansion in West Europe in a vain attempt to control it. For many years the new tsars of the Soviet Union have rabidly increased armaments and stepped up war preparations in a bid to control Europe. They have concentrated their forces there and never ceased improving their military equipment. This is an open and obvious tactic. Meanwhile, they have intensified their espionage activities in various countries in West Europe by all sorts of despicable means. This is a furtive and secret exercise. The Soviet KGB has not only used members of various delegations and personnel of organs stationed abroad to cover up its subversive activities, but also recruited foreigners everywhere as agents to infiltrate into the government organs of West Europe or other important departments for the purpose of collecting political, military, economic and technical information. In order to attain its goal of hegemony in Europe, Soviet social imperialism is not above doing anything dirty.

The Soviet Union often chants "detente." Actually, it is actively preparing for a surprise attack on Europe. This can be seen with increasing clarity from its military disposition and its espionage activities. Through its agents in West Germany and other European countries, the Soviet Union has obtained many secret documents on West European defense efforts. Such things can be neither eaten nor worn. Could it be anything other than a case of preparing for an attack on West Europe?

Since the beginning of this year, the Soviet leaders and the Soviet propaganda machine have continuously harped on the Soviet Union's desire for "more detente and greater peaceful cooperation among various countries." At one of the sessions of a so-called European security conference held not long ago, the Soviet Union also vigorously peddled Brezhnev's "action program for greater relaxation of strained military relations in Europe." But the unearthing of the espionage cases in West Germany has once again exposed the Soviet Union's "detente" and "European security and cooperation" as a fraud. Just as a newspaper in West Europe noted, the Soviet Union's espionage activities there are an eye-opener. People are made to see the "aggressive side" of the Soviet Union.

## SOUTHEAST ASIA &amp; PACIFIC

## FURTHER REPORTAGE ON TENG YING-CHAO VISIT TO CAMBODIA

## Meets Cambodian Women

OW200748Y Peking NCNA in English 0708 GMT 20 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Peking, January 20, 1978 (HSINHUA)--Khieu Ponnary, chairman of the Women's Association of Democratic Cambodia, called on Teng Ying-chao, member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, at the state guest house yesterday afternoon, according to a report from Phnom Penh. They had a very cordial and friendly conversation and had supper together.

Present on the occasion were Ieng Thirith, minister of social affairs; Yun Yat, minister of culture and education; Chaun, wife of Chairman Nuon Chea; Vonne, wife of deputy prime minister Vorn Vet and head of the 75 Workers Hospital; Leun, wife of President Khieu Samphan; and Chey, wife of Minister of Health Thiounn Thoeunn.

Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao conversed with her Cambodian sisters in close intimacy as if they were having a family reunion. They all wished that the revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity between the two parties, two peoples including women of China and Cambodia be consolidated and developed continuously.

Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao, accompanied by Chairman Khieu Ponnary and Ministers Ieng Thirith and Yun Yat, paid a visit to a primary school in Phnom Penh yesterday afternoon where she was warmly received by the teachers and pupils.

## KCP Hosts Banquet 18 Jan

OW192026Y Peking NCNA in English 2004 GMT 19 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Peking, January 19, 1978 (HSINHUA)--A grand banquet was given yesterday evening by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cambodia, the Permanent Committee of the People's Congress of Cambodia and the Government of Democratic Cambodia in honour of Teng Ying-chao, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, according to a Phnom Penh report.

Present at the banquet were Pol Pot, secretary of the KCP Central Committee and prime minister of the Government of Democratic Cambodia, and Nuon Chea, deputy secretary of the KCP Central Committee and chairman of the Permanent Committee of the People's Congress of Cambodia.

Also present were Ieng Sary and Vorn Vet, members of the Standing Committee of the KCP Central Committee and deputy prime ministers of the government, as well as Khieu Ponnary, Thounn Thioeum, Ieng Thirith and Yun Yat.

Nuon Chea made a warm speech at the banquet. He said: "Today, we welcome in high spirits Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao, because she is not only a noble envoy of the glorious Communist Party of China, the National People's Congress and the Chinese Government, but also an intimate comrade-in-arms of the late and beloved Premier Chou En-lai." "We the Cambodian people cherish deepest respect and love to Premier Chou En-lai. Comrade Chou En-lai is a great proletarian revolutionary, a close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao and also our Cambodian people's most lofty and intimate comrade-in-arms." "Following Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou gave his wholehearted, militant and positive support for the Cambodian people's struggle led by the Communist Party of Cambodia. To support our Cambodian people's national liberation cause, he worked day and night painstakingly. Even when he fell ill and was hospitalized, he still paid close attention to the situation of the Cambodian people's struggle and exerted all his efforts to guide the work in support of the Cambodian people. Very often Premier Chou talked about our Cambodian people, cadres as well as men and women fighters of the Cambodian Revolutionary Army with ardent love and excitement.

"The signal victory of our Cambodian people on April 17, 1975 made this noble and outstanding proletarian internationalist fighter full of excitement and happiness of revolution just as the great victory of the heroic Chinese people in the year of 1949 did. After our great victory, we had planned to invite the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou to visit our Democratic Cambodia so that he might be able to see with his own eyes how profound is the fraternal revolutionary friendship cherished by our Cambodian people towards the brotherly Chinese people and how much our people respect, love and thank Premier Chou himself. Now Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao will surely feel by herself this profound friendly feelings of ours through this visit."

He said: "In their visit to our Democratic Cambodia, Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao and other Chinese comrades have brought us the happy tidings of the fresh great victories scored by the brotherly Chinese people, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of China with Chairman Hua Kuo-feng as its leader, in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in socialist revolution and socialist construction along the brilliant proletarian revolutionary line of their great leader and teacher Chairman Mao." "We are convinced that the Chinese people will certainly attained the magnificent goal of four modernizations put forward by Premier Chou in accordance with Chairman Mao's wise teaching and reaffirmed by Chairman Hua and the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China." "We firmly believe that the Fifth National People's Congress of China to be held in spring this year will surely further consolidate and develop the strength of unity and help to stimulate the Chinese people in their brave advance along Chairman Mac's line under the correct and wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua."

He said: "Our entire Revolutionary Army and people of Cambodia led by the Communist Party of Cambodia and united as one and as firm as a rock, are adhering to the principle of persisting in resolute struggle, maintaining revolutionary vigilance at all times, and fighting bravely for implementing the three tasks of defending the country and carrying on the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In the field of defending the country, we have surmounted and are overcoming obstacles to fight for safeguarding our sacred territories. We have gained complete initiative. In national construction, we take rice production as an example. In 1977, we succeeded in hitting the targets of turning out three tons per hectare for single cropping and six tons for double-croppings. We should maintain revolutionary vigilance, surmount new obstacles in accomplishing the task of defending the country with still greater initiative, and build the country and raise the people's living standards at a faster pace."

"We Cambodian people cherish the desire to enjoy dignity as the master of the land, lead an independent, free and peaceful life and build the country in accordance with their profound aspiration and in the way they have chosen. We Cambodian people have most ardent and justifiable patriotism. We did not, and need not to provoke anyone. We Cambodian people have steadfast sincerity, unwaveringly adhere to the principles of mutual respect for independence and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit and to the policy of independence, peace and non-alignment to establish close and friendly relations with countries far and near as stipulated in the Constitution of Democratic Cambodia."

Concluding his speech, Chairman Nuon Chea said: "We are deeply convinced that Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao's visit will further consolidate and strengthen the revolutionary and fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between our two parties, two countries and two peoples."

Then, Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao made a speech. She said: "In the years of raging gunfire when you were engaged in the war of liberation, I had longed to come to Cambodia as a comrade-in-arms of yours. Now, you have completely defeated U.S. imperialism and are carrying out socialist revolution and construction. It is in such a new juncture of great change that my aspiration over the years has come true. I have come to visit your heroic country as a student, eager to learn from you, to understand more of each other and to promote the great friendship between us through this visit. Our fraternal, close and deep friendship is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and has stood the test of a protracted struggle. We have said time and again that we will always fight together, unite with each other and win victory together. This has been proved in the practice of struggle."

She warmly praised the Cambodian people on the signal victories they have won under the wise leadership of the Communist Party of Cambodia headed by Comrade Pol Pot. The Cambodian people, she said, have thoroughly defeated U.S. imperialism and its running dog, the traitorous Lon Nol clique, and founded the impregnable Democratic Cambodia through battles. "Your great victory has set a shining example to the revolutionary people the world over that a small and weak nation can defeat aggression by a big and strong one.

"Since the liberation of the whole country, you have remained firm in safeguarding state independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and succeeded in defending the new-born revolutionary state power, by upholding the principle of independence and initiative and self-reliance, and carrying forward the dauntless revolutionary heroism displayed in wartime. With soaring enthusiasm, tireless labour and hard struggle, you have made all-out and down-to-earth efforts to push industrial and agricultural production forward in giant strides. It is a victory of great significance that you have basically solved the food question in such a short span of time. Through energetic international activities, you have promoted friendship and mutual understanding with the people of various countries. We express heartfelt joy and admiration for every success of yours and extend our warmest greetings to the Cambodian comrades. We should learn assiduously from your revolutionary spirit and innumerable precious experiences. The Communist Party of Cambodia is a glorious Marxist-Leninist party which is good at integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with Cambodian concrete practice and in successfully leading the people in war and in construction. It is a staunch party which upholds principles persistently and is standing at the fore in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. We are convinced that under the leadership of the correct line of the Communist Party of Cambodia, the Cambodian people and the Cambodian Revolutionary Army will win more brilliant victory in the sacred cause of building and defending the motherland."

Referring to the excellent situation in China during the past year and more after the smashing of the "gang of four", she said: "Initial success has been won in implementing the strategic decision of grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land. The whole country has presented a new look and a thriving scene of stability, unity and hard work. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, the Chinese people are working hard to build our country into a great, modern and powerful socialist country by upholding the great banner of Chairman Mao and firmly carrying out the line formulated by the eleventh party congress."

She said: "China is a socialist country. We hold that the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence are the fundamental principles which must be adhered to by all countries in the world, including the socialist countries, in dealing with relations between states. Democratic Cambodia is an independent and sovereign state. The just cause of the Cambodian people in upholding the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and safeguarding the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own country is winning broad sympathy and support from the people all over the world."

"The two parties and two peoples of China and Cambodia that have always respected, cared for, supported and encouraged each other have formed a profound revolutionary friendship in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and in socialist revolution and construction. I heartily hope that the friendship between us will forever flow torrentially as the Yangtze and the Mekong, and be as monolithic as the Great Wall and the Angkor historical relics lasting for generations and generations."

Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao finally said: "I must extend my heartfelt thanks to Comrade Nuon Chea for his most cordial speech and to you all for your high praises of Comrade Chou En-lai. As a proletarian revolutionary fighter, Comrade Chou En-lai had done in accordance with the directives of Chairman Mao what he should for the Cambodian revolutionary cause and for Sino-Cambodian friendship."

Present on the occasion were the vice-chairman's entourage including Han Nien-lung, Shen Ping and Fu Shun-ho. Chinese Ambassador to Democratic Cambodia Sun Hao was present.

The banquet was permeated with a warm atmosphere of revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity between the two parties and peoples of Cambodia and China.

## EUROPE

## REPORTAGE ON FRENCH PRIME MINISTER BARRE'S VISIT

OW191849Y Peking NCNA in English 1827 GMT 19 Jan 78 OW

[Excerpts] Peking, January 19, 1978 (HSINHUA)--Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping stressed today that, confronted with the threat of superpower aggression and expansion, the existence of an increasingly united and strong Europe is in the interest of the European people. Speaking at the banquet in honour of French Premier Raymond Barre here this evening, he added: "We appreciate the efforts of the French Government to promote the unity of Western Europe."

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping presided over the grand banquet given by the State Council in the Great Hall of the People.

Attending the banquet were Ku Mu, vice-premier of the State Council; Chi Peng-fei, secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Huang Hua, minister of foreign affairs; Li Chiang, minister of foreign trade; Huang Chen, minister of culture; and Chang Ai-ping, deputy chief of General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The national flags of France and China hung side by side in the banquet hall. Prior to the banquet, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping had a photograph taken with more than one hundred French guests including Premier and Mme. Barre, their party, the crew of their special plane and journalists who have come to cover the visit. Accompanied by Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Premier Barre stepped into the banquet hall amid tunes of gay music and shook hands all around with leading members of Chinese departments concerned and diplomatic envoys of various countries to China.

French Ambassador to China Claude Arnaud, Mme. Arnaud and diplomatic officials of the French Embassy in Peking were among the guests.

Also present at the banquet were leading members of the government departments concerned, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, including Ku Ming, Chiang Nan-hsiang, Liu Chen-hua, Sung Chih-kuang, Hsiao Peng, Liu Ang, Sun Hsiao-feng, Li Tai-keng, Kuo Wei-cheng, Chou Hui, Shen Kuang, Kao I, Tan Yun-ho, Li Chang, Lu Chin-tung, Wang Yeh-chiu, Wang Yu-ching, Tseng Tao, Wang Jo-shui, Chin Chao, Chia Ting, Hsiao Fang-chou and Ting Hsueh-sung, as well as the Chinese Ambassador to France Han Ko-hua.

## Teng Hsiao-peng Speech

OW191646Y Peking NCNA in English 1623 GMT 19 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Peking, January 19, 1978 (HSINHUA)--Following is the full text of Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's speech at the banquet in honour of French Premier Raymond Barre here this evening:

Mr. Premier and Mrs. Barre, Distinguished French guests, Friends and comrades:

Premier Raymond Barre has come at our invitation to China on an official visit when the Chinese people have sent off the victorious year of 1977 and greeted the new year in full confidence. This gives us great pleasure. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I extend our warm welcome to Premier and Mrs. Barre and the other distinguished guests from France.

Premier Barre is another French leader to visit China after President Pompidou who came here in 1973. Entrusted by Chairman Mao Tsetung, Chairman Chu Te of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Premier Chou En-lai, I myself paid a friendly visit to France in 1975 and was accorded a warm reception by the French Government and people, an experience which is still fresh in my memory. We attach great importance to direct exchanges of views between the leaders of our two countries on international issues of common concern and about bilateral relations. We are sure that Premier Barre's current visit will make a major contribution to the furtherance of the relations between our two countries and the friendship between our two peoples.

The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung and their beloved Premier Chou En-lai in their life-time gave great attention to the development of relations between China and France. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries in 1964, the contacts between our two governments and peoples as well as the economic, scientific, technological and cultural exchanges have kept increasing. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng will continue to work to develop our good relations with France and other West European countries in firm pursuance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs. We are glad to know that President Giscard d'Estaing and Premier Raymond Barre expressed on many occasions their desire to expand the contacts and enhance the friendship between our two countries. Our two countries hold many identical or similar views on major international issues. The growth of Sino-French relations not only meets the desire of our two peoples but also is in the interest of the people of the world.

Mr. Premier: A crucial problem in present-day world politics is the intensifying struggle for world hegemony between the two superpowers, whose rivalry extends to every part of the world and centers on Europe strategically. The danger of war is visibly growing, posing a grave threat to the security of the people of all countries. But where there is aggression there is resistance. Now the people of all countries, those of the third world in particular, are rising in resistance in defiance of brute force, showing their new awakening and solidarity. We are happy to see that the year of 1977 which is just over witnessed continual victories for the people of the world in their struggle against hegemonism and continual setbacks for hegemonism. True, hegemonism will not be reconciled to its defeat, it will not stop its activities of aggression and expansion or change its policy of arms expansion and war preparations.

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But it has little support for its unjust cause. It is finding the going tougher. So long as the people of the world and all the countries which do not tolerate hegemonist interference, control, aggression and subversion close their ranks to form a broad international united front against hegemonism and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against its policies of aggression and expansion, they may be able to upset its global strategic deployment and put off the outbreak of war. We believe we ought to warn the people of the source and the danger of war, so that they will heighten their vigilance and make practical preparations against a war of aggression and that only thus will it be possible to effectively defend their national independence and security.

Confronted with the threat of superpower aggression and expansion, the existence of an increasingly united and strong Europe is in the interests of the European people. We are pleased to note that in the European Economic Community there has been gradual co-ordination of policies and actions and it is playing an ever more important role in the international arena. We hope that, guided by the general goal of strength through unity, the EEC will steadily grow and become stronger. We appreciate the efforts of the French Government to promote the unity of Western Europe.

Mr. Premier: China is now in a new period of development and we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. In the past year, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the Chinese people, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, unfolded a deep-going movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and won great victories in achieving initial success in grasping the key link of class struggle to bring about great order across the land. The political and economic situation is excellent. The entire Chinese people have a new mental outlook, and production and construction are steadily growing. In this excellent situation, we are confident that, guided by the correct line of the eleventh party congress, and working hard and self-reliantly while learning from other countries' advanced experience in science and technology, we will be able to attain by the end of this century the magnificent goal of the four modernizations enunciated by Premier Chou En-lai on Chairman Mao's instructions, and turn China into a powerful socialist country.

Now, I propose a toast:

To the French people who have a glorious tradition,

To the friendship between the Chinese and French peoples,

To the steady growth of relations between China and France,

To the prosperity of the Republic of France,

To the health of President Valery Giscard d'Estaing,

To the health of Premier and Mrs. Raymond Barre,

To the health of all the other distinguished French guests,

To the health of the heads of diplomatic missions and their wives, and

To the health of all comrades and friends present!

## Raymond Barre Speech

OW191727Y Peking NCON in English 1706 GMT 19 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Peking, January 19, 1978 (HSINHUA)--Following is the full text of French Premier Raymond Barre's speech at the banquet given in his honour here this evening:

Mr. Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping, Mr. Secretary-General of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Messrs. Ministers, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I am greatly satisfied and rather excited to find myself in Peking this evening, on the occasion of my visit to the People's Republic of China, the first by a French premier since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries fourteen years ago, in a few days' time.

I thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for your welcome and the laudatory words you have spoken about France and its role in the world. We, the French delegation and myself, very much appreciate the atmosphere of great cordiality which has surrounded us since our arrival in Peking. In it we see the testimony to the mutual sympathy which characterizes all the aspects of the relations between France and China.

Allow me first of all to evoke the memory of the late great statesmen who contributed so much to the rapprochement between our two peoples. In our country, General de Gaulle, who made the historic decision to recognize--before many others--our government as the government of all China and offer your country the friendship of France, and President Pompidou, who further developed our relations by making an unforgettable journey to Peking four years ago, which was also one of his last. In China, Chairman Mao Tsetung and Premier Chou En-lai, both initiators of the Franco-Chinese dialogue, henceforth associated in the collective memory of humanity as they were, during their lifetime, leading the People's Republic of China.

So high was the prestige of the founder of new China that his passing away plunged the entire international community in mourning. But his work remains in its historic dimension and amplitude. It is in loyalty to his creative thought that China, under Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's leadership, is redoubling its efforts along the road which will enable it to attain the position among nations to which it aspires. I thank you deeply for giving me this exceptional opportunity to get better acquainted with your country, its achievements and its plans and hopes.

I have come to learn about all this because nothing that interests China should leave its friends indifferent, because the affairs of a people that constitute one-fourth of humanity and form one of the biggest countries of our planet assume an importance that goes far beyond its frontiers.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we shall exchange our views on all questions, in the troubled world where we live, which require our attention and often enough demand our action. We shall discuss these questions as friends, without ever losing sight of the twofold principle which is the basis of French policy and also, as we know, of Chinese policy, namely, regard for our own independence and respect for the independence of other countries.

I wish first to speak to you about Europe. France belongs to that part of the world where conflicts have been most sanguinary in our century. More than thirty years after the end of the last worldwide conflict, the relations between former antagonistic countries have taken such a course that the demons of war have been pacified. France is engaged in the building of a European community whose initial target has been to unite in a sufficiently close manner the economy of France and those of neighbouring countries in order that differences of interests no longer trigger off havocs as in the past. This objective, both realistic and visionary, has been attained. There was gradually established among six, and then nine, West European countries a system of consultation and adjustment of decisions which now involves most aspects of life of the member states, including their external relations, and which has no equivalent in any part of the world.

This new entity, which is yet far from being definitively structured, will by no means snut itself from the surrounding world. It is fully conscious of being only a part of Europe. A member of the Atlantic alliance, France is true to its friends and does not intend to contribute less to easing the tensions and lowering the political administrative and, I would say, even psychological barriers--which are no less hard to remove--barriers which still hinder the free exchange of ideas and personnel and goods on the Continent of Europe. National defence and international detente are the two aspects of the policy to which my country is deeply committed and in whose service it is ceaselessly redoubling its efforts.

But in order that all the European countries may one day enjoy a total and effective detente between them, it is necessary that they may hope that the peace reestablished among them may not be affected at their gates. Europe is directly concerned with the affairs of the Mediterranean basin, and the dialogue opened by the European community with all the countries of this zone corresponds exactly to its desire of contributing within its ability to the solution of problems of the region.

Foremost among these problems evidently is the Near East crisis. No one is more convinced than the French Government of the urgent need to put an end to the confrontations which have already cost so many human lives. It is not a question of obtaining peace "at all costs". Any settlement, to be definitive, must be total in its application and must be accepted by all the parties. The elements in such a settlement are, after all, well-known and have received extensive approval in the international community. It includes the evacuation by Israel from territories occupied in 1967, the right of the Palestinian people to lay out a homeland, and the right of all the countries of the region to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed frontiers. It is on these bases that a durable peace can be established one day. We pay tribute to the initiatives, including the hardest and the newest initiatives, which seek to render possible a development in dispelling mistrust and reestablishing channels of communication between the various protagonists and the cause of peace will surely be better served. May the moment come as soon as possible when the countries and communities which equally desire an end to conflicts will sit around the negotiation table.

Farther away from our shores, the problems of Africa are no less present daily as one of our preoccupations.

It is necessary, first of all, for those peoples of this continent who at present confront each other to rediscover the channels of dialogue and, where possible, those of negotiation, which are a necessary condition for them to live together in the great African community. How can one fail to see that the rivalries and antagonisms that manifest themselves here and there in Africa would not be so acute if they were only the affairs of the states directly involved? How can one not call on the countries in conflict to renounce violence which brings about results that are always doubtful and are always challenged by the adversary? How can one not appeal to all the countries outside Africa to let the Africans settle African affairs among themselves?

Then it is necessary in the southern part of this continent to seek a settlement of the problem posed by the regime of apartheid in response to the appeal of the whole international community.

Finally, it is necessary for the peoples who still live under regimes of a colonial type to attain independence without delay and by peaceful means. France, on its part has accomplished its task successfully of decolonialization in Africa and its nationals have on many occasions and in various parts of the world spoken out on the future of the African people. France actively supports the efforts of various Western countries to hasten the day when the inhabitants of Zimbabwe and Namibia will decide for themselves the form of their government and take their place, after so many other African peoples, in the international community.

In Asia, where the principles of peaceful coexistence were formulated, peaceful coexistence is making slow but sure progress. My country hopes that in Southeast Asia, the detente, which is still uncertain and fragile, will be definitively established between the nine countries of the region. We understand and support the aspirations of the peoples of Southeast Asia for peace, independence, neutrality and development, and we wish they may peacefully resolve the conflicts that confront them. We hail, and are ready to support as far as we can, the efforts to promote regional cooperation through ASEAN as well as in other forms, while respecting national identity and the choice of each people.

The states of Latin America, which have for many years kept away from murderous rivalries, and with which France maintains relations based on ancient cultural affinities and rapidly expanding cooperation, have on several occasions in recent years shown that they can intervene in a decisive way in international forums to defend their sovereign rights, speak for the developing countries and play a role commensurable with quality of their statesmen and their diplomatic experience.

The peoples of Europe, Africa, Asia and America have in three decades successively joined the United Nations to debate there their political, judicial, economic and social problems and jointly search for solutions. Our two countries occupy a particular place in this organization in the capacity of permanent members of the Security Council. I want to tell you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that France on its part is doing its best to fulfill the role which the charter assigns it not in order to grow vainglorious, but on the contrary with a sharp sense of its responsibilities. The system of the United Nations, with all its evident imperfections, remains in our view irreplaceable, and the concern which each new state feels about recognition of its existence by the international community shows to what degree this sentiment is shared.

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In our opinion, the United Nations, with the cooperation of all its members, should direct its efforts towards the search of an ever greater efficacy of its action rather than towards a constant review of its structures or its charter.

It is all the more so because major tasks are set with more urgency than ever before the international community.

This is true, and long since, alas, of disarmament--an objective which is frequently evoked in speeches, but which remains to be translated into reality. France, conscious of the incalculable consequences of a new world conflict, takes this task as its primary concern. In this complex and grave matter, since it involves the very survival of nations, France intends to exert itself to make realism prevail over utopia, and negotiated solutions over unacceptable challenges.

It is also towards the search of realistic compromises that the big debate for the establishment of a new international economic order should be oriented. My country deems it an honour to have played particularly active role in this matter by organizing at President Giscard d'Estaing's initiative the work of the Conference on International Economic Cooperation. True, the results do not meet all our hopes. But I believe it was recognized by all the participants in the North-South dialogue that the real problems had already been raised and that the aspirations as well as the reservations of the protagonists in this dialogue had been expressed more clearly than before. The useful work of clearing up the ground has been accomplished, which should be and will be taken up again in other forms.

Finally, Mr. Vice-Chairman, in our talks we will review our bilateral relations, which are very good, but are no less open to further progress. It is our duty to extend and deepen our cooperation which, in the economic as well as cultural and scientific fields, should be worthy of the aspirations of our two great countries, which are both anxious to attain full development, though in different ways. This cooperation, which is without reservation, seems to me to conform not only to the possibilities but also to the fundamental interests of our two peoples. I ardently wish that my visit in your country and our forthcoming talks will constitute a new stage of our cooperation.

It is in this perspective of strengthening our cooperation that I now request all the personages you have kindly invited to this magnificent banquet to raise their glasses and drink

To the health of Mr. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng;

To the health of Mr. Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping;

To the health of Mr. Vice-Premier Ku Mu;

To the health of the high-ranking leaders of the People's Republic of China present here;

To the health of the heads of diplomatic missions present and their wives;

To the health of all those who are gathered here this evening;

To the prosperity of the People's Republic of China; and

To the ever closer and ever more active friendship between France and China.

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20 January Talks

OW200836Y Peking NCNA in English 0825 GMT 20 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Peking, January 20, 1978 (HSINHUA)--Teng Hsiao-ping, vice-premier of the State Council, and Raymond Barre, premier of the Republic of France, held talks here this morning.

Among those taking part in the talks on the French side were Louis de Guiringaud, minister of foreign affairs; Andre Rossi, minister of foreign trade; Claude Arnaud, French ambassador to China; Ual Mentre de Loyer, general delegate of energy of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Craftsmen; Roger Vaurs, director general of cultural, scientific and technical relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Bertrand Larrera de Morel, director of foreign economic relations of the Ministry of Economy and Finance, and Admiral Jean-Paul Orosco, head of the Military Department of the Office of the Premier.

Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were Foreign Minister Huang Hua, Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang, Vice-Foreign Minister Liu Chen-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs Sung Chih-cuang and Chinese Ambassador to France Han Ko-hua.

Paris Reports on Talks

LD201036Y Paris Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 20 Jan 78 LD

[Text] After the enthusiastic and colorful welcome which he presented live yesterday, Raymond Barre has just had his first political talks in China with Teng Hsiao-ping, Chinese number two man. We are going now to one of our special correspondents, Eduard Sablier, in Peking:

[Sablier] It is 1500 in Peking at the moment. Raymond Barre's first talks with the Chinese leaders took place this morning in a room in the People's Assembly. This meeting was devoted to political problems, and in his speech during the banquet given in his honor by Teng Hsiao-ping, the French premier outlined an inventory of topics for their talks: peace and disarmament, the Middle East and southeast Asia, and on all these points the two governments have almost identical views. Also included in his inventory are problems of Europe and its defenses, and on this the Chinese are more European than the Europeans. They wish for the political unification of Western Europe, increased vigilance before what they call the machinations of the Soviet hegemonists. All these views were expressed in public yesterday by Teng Hsiao-ping. They were developed by the Chinese delegation which the vice premier headed. One thing is certain. If it seems extraordinary that within the Chinese leadership voices are sometimes heard preaching rapprochement with the USSR, it is not Teng Hsiao-ping's voice at any rate.

[Paris Domestic Service in French at 0900 GMT on 20 January in a further report on the talks said: "Raymond Barre has began his talks with Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping. At the center of these talks was the theme of Europe facing the USSR: France and China want a powerful Europe, but not for the same reason. For the vice premier, Europe should be powerful and united in order to face up to the expansion of the superpowers. Raymond Barre insists on the construction of a Europe based on nonconfrontation and on detente."]

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Visit to Mao Memorial

OW200854Y Peking NCNA in English 0847 GMT 20 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Peking, January 20, 1978 (HSINHUA)--Raymond Barre, premier of the Republic of France, and Mme Barre paid their respects to the remains of Chairman Mao Tsetung at the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall here this afternoon. They were accompanied by Huang Hua, minister of foreign affairs. Premier and Mme Barre observed a silence and laid a wreath before the statue of Chairman Mao. The French premier's party joined him in paying respect to the remains of Chairman Mao.

PRC-GDR TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED IN BERLIN

OW200822Y Peking NCNA in English 0714 GMT 20 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Berlin, January 19, 1978 (HSINHUA)--A goods exchange and payments agreement for 1978 between the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was signed here today.

The agreement, which envisages a larger trade volume between the two countries than 1977, was signed by Wang Jun-sheng, leader of the Chinese Government trade delegation and vice-minister of foreign trade, and Kurt Fenzke, leader of the GDR Government trade delegation and vice-minister of foreign trade.

Horst Solle, GDR minister of foreign trade, attended the signing ceremony after receiving Wang Jun-sheng earlier. Wang Che-min, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy here, was also present on the occasion.

On the same day, Vice-Minister Kurt Fenzke gave a banquet in honour of the Chinese delegation.

MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA

GHANA HEAD OF STATE RECEIVES NCNA CORRESPONDENT

OW201242Y Peking NCNA in English 1200 GMT 20 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Accra, January 19, 1978 (HSINHUA)--Ghanaian Head of State and Chairman of the Supreme Military Council I.I. Acheampong received visiting HSINHUA correspondent Chu Min-hsin and other foreign journalists at Castle Osu here Tuesday afternoon. He told them that under the leadership of the Supreme Military Council Ghana has won remarkable achievements in the past few years.

In a friendly conversation with Chu Min-shin, who has come to attend the sixth anniversary celebrations of Ghana's January 13 revolution and pay a friendly visit to the country, Chairman Acheampong said that his government has made great efforts in developing agriculture and particularly launched an "operation feed yourself" programme. Though faced with some difficulties at present, "we will continue to fight until final victory is won," he said.

Parker A.S. Yarney, Ghanaian commissioner for information, gave a reception in honour of the visiting foreign journalists in the evening.

**LIBERATION ARMY DAILY CALLS FOR CRITICISM OF 'LEFTISTS'**

OW192232Y Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese 1235 GMT 19 Jan 78 OW

[Text of LIBERATION ARMY DAILY 19 January article by Shih Chu: "Can We Repudiate Not Only the Rightists But Also the 'Leftists' in Criticizing Revisionism?"]

[Text] It is now very clear that the "gang of four" were counterrevolutionaries who appeared as sham leftists just like Lin Piao. After the downfall of the Lin Piao anti-party clique and the gigantic, vigorous movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify work styles, why was Lin Piao's sham leftist but genuine rightist revisionist line not wiped out and why were the "gang of four" once again able to continue riding roughshod and become even more rampant in the same way as Lin Piao? An important reason was: The "gang of four" allowed no criticism of the "leftists," protected Lin Piao's "leftist" disguise and seriously interfered with and sabotaged the criticism of Lin Piao's ultraright line. In those days, anyone who criticized Lin Piao's sham leftism was denounced by the "gang of four" as an advocate of "resurgence," restoration" and "reversing verdicts for Lin Piao's line." In 1975, the article "On the General Program for All Work of the Party and the Country" exposed the "anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary revisionist ultraright essence covered up by the 'ultraleft' language" of Lin Piao's line. It immediately hit Yao Wen-yuan's sensitive, reactionary nerves. He drew a big question mark: "'Left?'" Later, the "gang of four" started the encirclement-and-attack campaign against the so-called "three poisonous weeks," including the article "On the General Program for All Work of the Party and the Country." The "gang of four" had particular hatred for the article's criticism of sham leftism and charged that it committed unpardonable crimes. The "gang of four's" repeated attacks against and repression of the masses' criticism of sham leftism caused such great ideological confusion that even today some comrades, with unforgotten trepidation, dare not take firm stands to criticism the "gang of four's" "leftist" disguise or wipe out their remnant, pernicious influence by linking the criticism with reality. They fear that other people may call them "rightists." Now is the right time for thoroughly smashing these mental fetters.

1. Criticizing "leftism" meant "opposing the criticism of revisionism" and "keeping the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao as treasures"--this was the "gang of four's" first charge against us for our criticism of Lin Piao's sham leftism.

According to their logic, revisionism--no matter what time, place or historical conditions--had only one form, that is, rightism. To criticize revisionism necessarily meant to vigorously oppose rightism. Anyone who criticized "leftism" would be "taking an ultraright stand" and protecting revisionism.

Does revisionism always have only one form? This question was already specifically analyzed by Lenin. In his struggle against revisionism in the Second International at the end of the 19th century, Lenin specified two kinds of revisionism: "Revisionism from the right" and "revisionism from the left." At that time, the "revisionism from the left" had not yet matured: it had not yet been internationalized; it had not yet become the major enemy of Marxism. Therefore, Lenin did not concentrate his criticism on it. Instead, he devoted his major attacks to "revisionism from the right." Later, as the situation of struggle developed and Marxism scored increasing victories, shrewd and crafty revisionists felt that it would be difficult for them to maintain a foothold as rightists. As a result, they tried their utmost to disguise themselves under the "leftist" cloak.

Realizing that "revisionism from the left" had gradually become the main danger, Lenin immediately dealt these fierce anti-Marxist enemies a crushing blow. As we all know, Trotsky and Bukharin not only appeared more than once as sham leftists; they also formed a small antiparty clique, self-styled as "leftist communists," soon after the victory of the October Revolution. Internally, this small "leftist" clique was opposed to maintaining discipline, using experts to develop industry and implementing the system of economic accounting; externally, it was opposed to signing a peace treaty with Germany and trumpeted the continuation of war. They openly slandered the implementation of Lenin's policy as "returning to the capitalist system." To deal with these "leftists," Lenin and Stalin thoroughly exposed "a traitorous, discord-sowing policy which they cleverly disguised by using 'leftist' language."

Experience demonstrates that revisionists may craftily appear as rightists or as sham leftists and that they may attack us from the right or from the "left." We must repel the revisionists wherever they attack. This is why the revolutionary teacher consistently taught us that it is necessary to wage struggle on two fronts. In the period of the new democratic revolution in our country, Chairman Mao led the whole party in smashing not only Chen Tu-hsiu's right opportunist line but also the "left" opportunist line of Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san and Wang Ming. In summing up the experience of the struggle between the two lines within the party, Chairman Mao pointed out: It is necessary to "STRUGGLE AGAINST INCORRECT IDEAS WITHIN THE PARTY ON TWO FRONTS--AGAINST RIGHT OPPORTUNISM AND AGAINST 'LEFT' OPPORTUNISM." Our party "HAS CONSOLIDATED ITSELF AND GROWN STRONG ON THE TWO FRONTS."

Are these instructions by the revolutionary teacher out of date during the period of the socialist revolution? Does our party still need to continue the struggle between the two lines? Concerning these questions, the "gang of four" distorted these remarks by Chairman Mao: "REVISIONISM OR RIGHT OPPORTUNISM IS ONE FORM OF BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY, AND IT IS MORE DANGEROUS THAN DOGMATISM." They used those remarks as their "theoretical basis" for opposing criticism and preventing activities of "leftists." However, when we study the remarks comprehensively and accurately, we learn that they were of no help to the "gang of four."

Chairman Mao made those remarks shortly before the start of the struggle against the rightists in 1957. At that time the Khrushchev renegade clique had usurped supreme party and state leadership in the Soviet Union, convened the 20th party congress and stirred up a revisionist typhoon. AS SOON AS THE '20TH CONGRESS' OF THE CPSU STIRRED UP A TYPHOON, SOME ANTS IN CHINA CAME OUT OF THEIR HOLES. THESE WERE PERSONS WITHIN THE PARTY WHO VACILLATED AT THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY." They praised Khrushchev and the Polish and Hungarian events; went all out to oppose Stalin, socialism and party leadership; and stubbornly clung to their capitalist line. This trend of revisionist thought was ultrarightist in both appearance and essence. In view of this situation, Chairman Mao made the above-mentioned remarks in discussing the essence and nature of this trend toward revisionist thought.

By quoting these remarks from Chairman Mao, without regard to the historical background, the "gang of four" made the allegation that revisionists always appear as rightists and never as "leftists." This being the case, during the period of the socialist revolution it is necessary to struggle only on one front and it is no longer necessary to struggle on two fronts. This is a shameless distortion of Chairman Mao's thinking.

As a matter of fact, in Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung," Chairman Mao more than once stressed the need to persevere in the struggle on two fronts.

In summing up the experience of the struggle against the antiparty alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, Chairman Mao pointed out: It is necessary to "GUARD AGAINST 'LEFT' AND RIGHT DEVIATIONS." "WE MUST WAGE A STRUGGLE ON BOTH FRONTS, COMBATING BOTH 'LEFT' AND RIGHT DEVIATIONS." Later, during the upsurge in the agricultural cooperation movement, the 1957 struggle against the rightists, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao admonished the whole party to pay attention to the fact that one trend is counterbalanced by another and to not forget to oppose and check "left" deviations. Chairman Mao made these admonishments while leading the whole party in combating right deviations.

The law of class struggle in the period of socialism tells us that the masses have greatly increased their ability to discern revisionism. This is because of the widespread dissemination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, because of the deepening of the struggle against revisionism, and, especially, because of the Great Cultural Revolution. Thus, Lin Piao, the "gang of four," and other careerists and conspirators could not openly raise the banner of opposing Marxism to usurp party and state power and restore capitalism, nor could they openly raise the banner of revising Marxism. They could continue to deceive the masses and practice revisionism only by raising the banner of opposing revisionism and disguising themselves as "leftists." The document "On the General Program for All Work of the Party and the Country" relentlessly exposed such criminal activity by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," pointing out that "it is practicing revisionism under the banner of opposing revisionism and working for restoration under the banner of opposing restoration." The "gang of four" were very much angered by such exposure. Having a guilty conscience like a thief, Yao Wen-yuan made a note on this document, saying it "is a self-description." This was an attempt to blame these criminal activities on the author of "on the general program for all work of the party and the country." Of course, the attempt was futile.

As sham leftists but genuine rightists, the "gang of four" practiced revisionism under the banner of opposing revisionism. One of their characteristics is that they revised Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung from the "left." Our party members know that in an attempt to sabotage the revolution, someone may use revolutionary slogans calling for combating and preventing revisionism and go to excess or the point of absurdity in doing so. In other words, someone may use "ultraleftist" means to attain ultrarightist ends. Firmly bearing in mind this characteristic of class struggle, we must never be confused by the "gang of four's" clamor that "we can only criticize rightists when criticizing revisionism." We must never give rightists the chance to move in from the "left."

2. Criticizing "leftists" involves "covering up the ultrarightist essence of Lin Piao's line" and "reversing verdicts on Lin Piao" and "is a case of false criticism of Lin Piao." These were charges lodged by the "gang of four" against us for criticizing sham-leftist Lin Piao.

Regarding criticism of the sham-leftist line of Lin Piao, the "gang of four" raised the following question in mock seriousness: "Is the essence of Lin Piao's line ultraleftist or ultrarightist?" They pretended they wanted to criticize "ultrarightist essence" and made believe we wanted to criticize the "ultraleftist essence." The truth was thus once again on the "gang of four's" side. However, who said we should criticize the "ultraleftist essence" of Lin Piao's line? Who raised such a foolish issue? The "gang of four's" trick was to impose extremely ridiculous ideas on others and then refute those ideas. The question actually was not whether or not to criticize the "ultraleftist or ultrarightist essence." The question was whether or not to conduct the criticism in a truthful or false way.

In order to truthfully criticize the ultrarightist essence, it is necessary to be good at grasping essence despite false appearances. Chairman Mao drew a lesson from our party's experience in smashing the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih antiparty alliance: We should never be misled by false appearances. He said: "KNOWING AN OBJECT'S ESSENCE COMES FROM ANALYZING AND STUDYING ITS APPEARANCE. THIS IS WHY WE MUST MAKE SCIENTIFIC OBSERVATIONS. IF ONE COULD GET AT THE ESSENCE OF A THING BY INTUITION, WHAT WOULD BE THE USE OF SCIENCE? WHAT WOULD BE THE USE OF STUDY? STUDY IS REQUIRED PRECISELY BECAUSE THERE IS A CONTRADICTION BETWEEN APPEARANCE AND REALITY. THERE IS A DIFFERENCE THOUGH BETWEEN AN OBJECT'S TRUE AND FAKE APPEARANCE. WE CAN THEREFORE DRAW THE LESSON: TRY AS FAR AS POSSIBLE NOT TO BE MISLED BY FALSE APPEARANCES." Chairman Mao's instructions tell us there are false phenomena within everything. Such false phenomena represent the unity of opposites of the essence. In order not to be misled by the false image created by Lin Piao and company that "there is a 30 percent leftist nature in everything," we must equate false appearance with essence. If we do so, the sham leftists would be mistaken as genuine leftists, and sham Marxism as genuine Marxism. In this way, we will surely be deceived.

Secondly, we should not separate false images from essence, because false images reflect the essence even though the reflected false image is inverted. Disregarding the existence of false images is tantamount to abandoning the orientation of the essence of knowledge. To truly criticize the ultrarightist essence of Lin Piao's line, it is necessary to link the criticism of its false leftist appearance with the criticism of its ultrarightist essence, thereby recognizing essence by unmasking it. The more thoroughly we unmask its leftist disguise, the more fully we reveal its ultrarightist essence. This is the only way to expose its ultrarightist essence. However, the "gang of four" separated the false leftist and the ultrarightist essence and set one against the other, thus creating a strange phenomenon in which criticism of ultrarightist essence was made without mentioning its false leftist appearance. One may ask: Can the essence of a thing exist without any phenomena? No. Facts tell us that the ultrarightist essence of Lin Piao's line was always connected with its ultraleftist appearance, and was greatly and distortedly reflected in an inverted way. If we discard the false leftist appearance, will the so-called "ultrarightist essence" not become abstract and intangible? Moreover, a false appearance is different from other phenomena in general. It serves as a smokescreen to cover up essence before it is exposed. When it is exposed by us in a scientific way, it will guide us in understanding the essence. The "gang of four" were bent on opposing the criticism of false leftists. Wouldn't this show their criminal motives in trying to use false leftist essence to cover up their ultrarightist essence? The "gang of four" vilified others at the slightest opportunity by saying that "criticizing Lin Piao is false, while covering up ultrarightist essence is true." The "gang of four" should have pinned this label on themselves.

Historically, revisionists are ultrarightist in essence and always camouflage themselves in order to deceive people. Lenin said: "THE THEORETICAL VICTORY OF MARXISM OBLIGED ITS ENEMIES TO DISGUISE THEMSELVES AS MARXISTS" ("Selected Works of V.I. Lenin," Vol. II, p 439) "Disguising themselves as Marxists" is a camouflage they use to deceive people. This is an inherent characteristic of revisionism. Without this characteristic, revisionism would not be revisionism. Even revisionists who appear as rightist dare not oppose Marxism. They even use Marxist language to defend themselves. In struggling against revisionists, we must expose their camouflage and strip off their disguise. This occurred in our party's struggles against the Mao-Jao antiparty alliance, the Peng Te-huai antiparty clique and the Li Shao-chi bourgeois headquarters.

This was especially true in dealing with Lin Piao, an enemy whose demeanor and camouflage were different from those of Liu Shao-chi, who was very skillful in covering himself with sham left camouflage and who often appeared in an "ultraleft" form. With an ulterior motive, the "gang of four" advocated the disregarding of sham images while criticizing the essence of the line. Obviously they wanted to do away with the struggle against revisionism. Their so-called "antirevisionism" was a deceitful "left" camouflage.

3. Criticizing "left" was "criticizing the Great Cultural Revolution" and "negating the bountiful results of the Great Cultural Revolution." This was the third charge that the "gang of four" leveled against our criticism of Lin Piao's sham leftism.

The "gang of four" consistently extolled in Lin Piao and company for being "representatives of the Great Cultural Revolution." When we stripped Lin Piao of his sham leftist disguise in the Great Cultural Revolution, thus hitting him hard, the gang accused us of "criticizing the Great Cultural Revolution." However, by reviewing the history of the Great Cultural Revolution, we can see how our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao consistently made in-depth exposure and criticism of the sham leftist disguise of Lin Piao and the "gang of four."

As early as the time when the Great Cultural Revolution was at its height, Chairman Mao made intensive criticism of the reactionary thought of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" such as "suspect all, overthrow all" and "only I am revolutionary, only I am left." This criticism was in line with Marx's teaching that only if all of mankind is emancipated can the proletariat achieve its own emancipation. He stressed: "THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL THING IS TO HAVE FAITH IN THE MAJORITY OF THE CADRES AND THE MASSES." he also emphasized the proletarian policy of "HELPING MORE PEOPLE BY EDUCATING THEM AND NARROWING THE TARGET OF ATTACK" and emphasized the need to carry forward the tradition of the Yenan rectification movement and the need to treat the cadres properly.

At the second plenum of the Ninth CCP Central Committee held in 1970, Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta launched a surprise attack and hoodwinked many people with the astonishing "genius" and "peak" left rhetoric. With insight into everything, Chairman Mao pointed out that the "theory of genius" was the general theme of Lin Piao's antiparty theory and penetratingly exposed the reactionary nature of his idealist apriorism and idealist historical viewpoint. For a time Lin Piao thrived in his sham left disguise but he eventually was exposed by Chairman Mao and met his downfall.

In the summer of 1971 when the "gang of four," under the guise of "educational revolution," were concocting the "two assessments" to smear the work during the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao decisively pointed out that they "should not go to extreme in making such assessments." He also pointed out that "the majority of intellectuals still support the socialist system" and that "generally speaking, there are some correct points in the 60-point document on higher education." He made a Marxist-Leninist scientific assessment of the education revolution and of intellectuals. This was a tit-for-tat refutation of the sham left fallacies advocated by the "gang of four."

At the meeting of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee on 17 July, 1974, Chairman Mao sternly criticized Chiang Ching: "STOP RUNNING THOSE TWO FACTORIES, ONE THE IRON AND STEEL FACTORY AND THE OTHER THE HAT FACTORY. STOP SLAPPING BIG HATS ON OTHERS AT WILL." Wasn't running those "two factories" the same as the "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" advocated by Wang Ming's "left" line?

In his two statements on readjusting the policy on literature and art, Chairman Mao pointed out in July 1975: "MODEL OPERAS ALONE ARE NOT ENOUGH. WHAT IS WORSE, ONE COMES UNDER FIRE FOR THE SLIGHTEST FAULT. NO LONGER ARE A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOSSOMING. OTHERS ARE NOT ALLOWED TO OFFER ANY OPINION. THAT IS NO GOOD." On 25 July, Chairman Mao wrote the following comments on a letter from a screen-writer of the film "Pioneers": "There is nothing seriously wrong with this film. I suggest that it be approved for release. We should not demand perfection. To bring as many as ten charges against it is really going too far. This hampers the readjustment of the party's policy on literature and art." The gang's opposition to "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," their "demand for perfection," and their desire to overemphasize everything which was criticized by Chairman Mao in the previously mentioned directive were the gang's well-known tactics for undermining the party's policy on literature and art under the guise of "leftism." In light of the "gang of four's" fallacious description of intellectuals as "the stinking ninth category," Chairman Mao pointed out in 1975: "DO AWAY WITH THE MISTAKEN METAPHYSICAL NOTIONS THAT 'GOLD MUST BE PURE' AND 'MAN MUST BE PERFECT!'" The "gang of four" applied this metaphysical and sham "leftist" fallacy for a long time to undermine the party's policy on intellectuals.

The previously mentioned facts show that during the Great Cultural Revolution when Chairman Mao led us in smashing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, he was always highly vigilant against the sham "left" but genuine right revisionist line of the "gang of four." He also constantly tried to expose and criticize the line, carried out a tit-for-tat struggle against it on all fronts, and was thus able to constantly overcome "left" and right interference and achieve great victories in the Great Cultural Revolution. Criticizing sham "leftists" is an essential part of Chairman Mao's ideological system and an important aspect of his post-Great Cultural Revolution instructions. This was a prerequisite for guiding the Cultural Revolution to great victory. The gang's interpretation of the criticism of sham "leftists" as a criticism of "the Great Cultural Revolution" was really an outrageous attack against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Although Chairman Mao repeatedly criticized and the masses repudiated the sham "left" and genuine right revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," the resulting interference with and sabotage of the Great Cultural Revolution was considerable. For example, the slogans "overthrow everything" and "a full-scale civil war" resulted from interference and sabotage from the "Left" by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" during the Great Cultural Revolution. These slogans symbolize a breakaway from the mainstream of this revolution. Such sham "left" and genuine right sinister activity must be thoroughly exposed, criticized and discredited. Only by doing so can we truly defeat the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four", and consolidate and develop the Great Cultural Revolution's achievements.

4. Lin Piao was a man disguised as a "leftist." Although the "gang of four" resented his false appearance, they hesitated to expose him, which appeared unusual but can be easily explained since they were jackals from the same lair, wore the same masks and were essentially ultrarightist elements. If they had torn the mask off Lin Piao, their own ugly features would have been revealed. In this respect, they shared the same fate and breathed the same air. The gang strongly opposed criticizing Lin Piao as a sham "leftist" because such criticism would also expose them as sham "leftists."

Everyone still remembers that when the "gang of four" criticized the "On the General Program," they often cited the following well-known quotation from Lenin: "DENYING THE EXISTENCE OF REVISIONISM MEANS COVERING UP ONE'S REVISIONIST TENDENCY." ("Collection of Lenin's Work," Vol 20, p 324) However, they failed to accompany this phrase with a phrase of their own which reads: "We must deny the existence of revisionism promoted by Lin Piao under the cloak of sham 'leftism' because we want to continue to promote revisionism under the same cloak."

The "gang of four" not only opposed criticism of fake leftists but also protected and developed those fake leftist things advocated by Lin Piao, under the signboard of criticizing rightists. As a result, the more criticism was carried out, the more "leftist" the targets of criticism became and the more damaging the criticism turned out to be. For instance, Lin Piao consistently trumpeted that politics can oust everything" and used "revolution" to undermine production. However, the "gang of four" not only disallowed criticism of that but also called on people to criticize what they called "using production to suppress revolution." Thus, is it not true that the more criticism was carried out, the more vigorously it "ousted" production? As a matter of fact, Lin Piao spared no efforts to instigate anarchist thinking. However, the "gang of four" not disallowed criticism of that but also called on people to criticize what they called "controlling, checking and suppressing." Thus, is it not true that the more anarchism was criticized, the more it overflowed? As a matter of fact, Lin Piao used the so-called fallacy of "rushing toward communism" to undermine the party's policies at that stage. However, the "gang of four" not only disallowed criticism of that but also called on people to criticize distribution according to labor as a "material incentive." Thus, is it not true that the more criticism was carried out, the more the socialist system was damaged? The "gang of four" clamored for what they called "using mass criticism to blaze the trail," and it was here that mass criticism was truly used to blaze the trail. But it was not used to blaze the trail for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line: instead, it was used to blaze the trail for continuing to peddle the revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and develop this line to its climax.

The wise leader Chairman Hua taught us: "We should use Mao Tsetung Thought to thoroughly strip them of their 'leftist' camouflage and restore their original ultrarightist features." Chairman Hua's instructions penetratingly expounded the dialectical relationship between the criticism of 'leftist' camouflage and the criticism of the ultrarightist essence. In the past, we often said: "The "gang of four" used "revolutionary phrases" to cover up their "counterrevolutionary deeds." Now, we see that this allegation is not so accurate anymore. The reason is that many of their phrases which they used as camouflage were not "revolutionary" themselves, but were merely revolutionary in appearance and reactionary in reality, Marxist in appearance and anti-Marxist in reality, and leftist in appearance and "ultrarightist" in essence or "leftist" in form and rightist in essence.

With regard to those counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities which they carried out behind the "revolutionary" phrases and "leftist" camouflage, we should of course conduct penetrating exposure and thorough criticism. With regard to those phrases and that camouflage, we shouldn't take them lightly either but should conduct the same penetrating exposure and thorough criticism. The reason for doing so is that they were what the "gang of four" all along vigorously propagated as Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; what duped many of our comrades who regarded them as the correct line; and what primarily comprised the things that created the deepest pernicious influence, the most extensive effects, the greatest damage and the strongest fetters among the people.

Although some comrades among us feel that this bunch of stuff is so "leftist" that it should be hated and disliked, they feel that it was so "leftist" that they are afraid of it. Therefore, they do not dare to touch it or criticize it for fear that they will be labelled "rightists." But actually, there is nothing to be "afraid of!" It is not true that, during the past period under the domination of Wang Ming's line, Chairman Mao was always smeared as a "rightist?" But history proved it was not Wang Ming but Chairman Mao who adhered to Marxism and represented the current orientation of history.

Today, with Mao Tsetung Thought guiding us on our road and Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee backing us, it is precisely time to display our mettle of dauntlessly bracing all difficulties to win victories and completely strip the "gang of four" of their "leftist" camouflage, penetratingly criticize their ultrarightist essence and clearly sweep away the pernicious influence and the effects of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line. By persisting in waging a struggle on both fronts, combating the "leftists" and the rightists, and not only penetratingly criticizing the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" but also avoiding neglecting the serious harm of the counterrevolutionary revisionism of Liu Shao-chi, we will be able to advance victoriously along the road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat indicated by Chairman Mao.

#### GANG ACCUSED OF PLANNING TO RESTORE CAPITALISM

HK200210Y Peking KWANGMING DAILY in Chinese 16 Jan 78 p 3 HK

[Article by Pai Chien [4101 7003]: "Refuting 'Necessity Means Planning'"]

[Text] Whether it is necessary to enforce the unified planning and discipline of the state is an important issue in our struggle against the "gang of four" in the economic sphere. The reactionary fallacy that "necessity means planning" peddled by that sworn follower of the "gang of four" in Liaoning was no less than a poisoned arrow shot at the state's unified planning and discipline. Since this fallacy has spread poison far and wide, we must subject it to thorough criticism.

The concept that "necessity means planning" is theoretically erroneous in the extreme. The socialist economy is a planned economy. Indeed, when formulating plans we must take social requirements as an important point of departure. But this decidedly does not mean requirements are planning. For in the course of socialist construction, the contradiction between social production and social requirements will exist objectively for a long time. Following the continuous development of socialist production and the rise in the living standard of the people, social requirements will make new and higher demands on social production, and it is impossible for people to solve all problems and satisfy all needs overnight. The long existing contradiction between social production and social requirements must be regulated through state planning so that a relative balance may be achieved between production and requirements. We ought to study and analyze all kinds of requirements so as to work out an order of priorities. At the same time, in the light of practical possibilities, we must also formulate workable plans. The so-called "necessity means planning" does nothing but equate requirements with planning, and the result will inevitably be to substitute so-called "requirements" for planning, which is tantamount to basically negating planning [paragraph continues]

Let us imagine this: If all of us negate planning on the pretext of "requirements," go our own separate ways and undertake whatever projects that we happen to like in defiance of objective possibilities without defining the priorities or taking the overall situation into consideration, then production can only be carried out in a chaotic manner. The national economy cannot basically proceed in a planned and proportionate way and at high speed, and anarchy will necessarily prevail. The "gang of four's" allegation that "necessity means planning" was directed at propagating the "theory of spontaneity" in economic development and opposing socialist economic planning in an attempt to open a breach in this sphere in order to undermine the economic foundation of socialism.

Here, "requirements" as stated by the "gang of four" and requirements as we explain them are two totally different concepts. We refer to requirements as being those of the masses of the people and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Classical Marxist works tell us that the basic goal of socialist production is to satisfy to the maximum extent possible the daily growing material and cultural requirements of the masses of the people and of society as a whole. When drafting plans and pondering problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has a population of 800 million, from the great strategic policy of "BEING PREPARED AGAINST WAR, BEING PREPARED AGAINST NATURAL DISASTERS, AND DOING EVERYTHING FOR THE PEOPLE," and from the grand objective of achieving the four modernizations so as to prepare conditions for the materialization of the lofty goal of communism. However, the "gang of four" went the other way. Turning a blind eye to the well-being of the masses of people, they babbled: "It does not matter if 800 million people suffer a little." Ignoring the requirements of socialist revolution and socialist construction, they slandered state plans as "benefiting the capitalist roaders" and attacked the effort to achieve the four modernizations as "preparing the material groundwork for restoring capitalism."

What then are the "requirements" trumpeted by the "gang of four"? Let us hear their confession. They stopped at nothing in boycotting and sabotaging state supply plans, yet they said with an ulterior motive: "The struggle is very fierce at the center, and this is aimed at meeting the requirements of struggle." So the truth is that their "requirements" were counterrevolutionary requirements for fulfilling their ambition to usurp party and state power, including the requirements for an extravagant and dissipated life. So their "planning" could only be planning for the restoration of capitalism. The advocacy of "necessity means planning" by the "gang of four" and their sworn followers meant, in effect, that the "gang of four" used their counter-revolutionary political requirements to oppose and undermine socialist state plans.

The planned economy is an important mark of the superiority of the socialist system. China's socialist planned economy has resulted from decades of arduous struggle by our party and the people of the whole country under Chairman Mao's leadership. Chairman Mao pointed out: "THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANKIND GOES BACK HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YEARS, BUT HERE IN CHINA IT IS ONLY TODAY THAT CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN SECURED FOR THE PLANNED DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ECONOMY AND CULTURE. GIVEN THESE CONDITIONS, THE FACE OF OUR COUNTRY WILL CHANGE FROM YEAR TO YEAR." ("Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Vol V, p 250) In order to restore capitalism, chieftains of the opportunist line within the party have invariably done their utmost to oppose and sabotage the planned economy. Lin Piao and company babbled: "What plan? My words are the plan." "What proportion? Fighting is proportion." [paragraph continues]

Stepping into Lin Piao's shoes, the "gang of four" raised a hue and cry about abstract "requirements" and fabricated the fallacy that "necessity means planning." Instigated, supported and encouraged by the "gang of four," a handful of class enemies ran rampant in a small number of areas and units. Capitalism spread unchecked, bourgeois practices were widespread and socialist economic planning was gravely undermined in these places. For this reason, in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" we must eliminate their pernicious influence in relation to the reality of the struggle between the two classes and two roads on the economic front. We must safeguard the unified planning of the state, run the whole country as a coordinated chess game, strengthen the rigorous nature of planning and strive to fulfill in an all-round manner and overfulfill the state plans. We must oppose those erroneous methods which fail to take the overall situation into account and disrupt and alter state plans at will. We must fight against all violations of the financial and economic regulations and discipline. Above all, we must strive to win still greater victories in grasping the key link to bring about great order across the land.

#### MONEY FOR COLLECTIVES MUST COME FROM SOCIALIST ROAD

HK200209Y Peking PEOPLE'S DAILY in Chinese 16 Jan 78 p 1 HK

[Short commentary: "Money Comes From the Socialist Road"]

[Text] Adhering to the socialist orientation and actively developing multiple undertakings at the commune and production team levels are important measures for guaranteeing increase in output and income, continuously strengthening the collective economy of the people's communes, improving the livelihood of commune members and quickly developing socialist agricultural production.

An important question is raised: In the course of developing multiple undertakings at the commune and production team levels, "from which road is money derived?" Some people hold that every means may be used in getting money for the collective. This is completely wrong. Tachai achieves stable and high grain yields and increases its income year after year. It makes ever greater contributions to the state and has an ever growing public accumulation. Its commune members lead an ever better life thanks to the development of production. Its money comes totally from the socialist road. The capitalist tendency to reject agriculture, engage in commerce and attach greater importance to sideline occupations than to agriculture and the wrong idea of "any method of work is correct as long as it is for the collective" must be criticized. Only when the road to capitalism is blocked can we march in broad strides and head for socialism.

In saying money comes from the socialist road, we must put the relationship between grain production and multiple undertakings in the right position. During the period of agricultural cooperation, great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "WE MUST 'TAKE GRAIN AS THE KEY LINK' AND, AT THE SAME TIME, ACTIVELY DEVELOP THE GROWING OF VARIOUS KINDS OF ECONOMIC CROPS. WHILE DEVELOPING AGRICULTURE, WE MUST SIMULTANEOUSLY DEVELOP FORESTRY, ANIMAL HUSBANDRY, SIDELINE OCCUPATIONS AND FISHERY SO AS TO ACHIEVE ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT." The relations of interdependence and mutual promotion between grain production and multiple undertakings urge us to concentrate forces on grasping grain production and at the same time not to neglect the development of multiple undertakings. If we grasp one thing, but neglect the other, our endeavors to increase production and income will be empty talk.

We advocate running multiple undertakings at the commune and production team levels in light of the conditions of agricultural production and for the purpose of serving agricultural production. This is a correct guideline for insuring that money comes from the socialist road. The "gang of four" vilified this guideline as "transfusing blood and supplying oxygen" to capitalism. They also spread fallacies which confused right and wrong. We must totally eliminate their pernicious influence. In developing multiple undertakings at the commune and production team levels, we must adhere to the socialist orientation, place stress on serving agricultural production and the commune members and, where conditions permit, serve industry and export. We must make full use of local resources and develop planting, fish and animal breeding, processing and mining. But, we must avoid encroaching upon the raw materials set aside for industry and impairing the resources of the state. We should strengthen leadership over and actively readjust existing multiple undertakings at the commune and production team levels. At present we must pay particular attention to carrying out the party's economic policy and resolutely struggle against the trend of egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of manpower and supplies at the commune and production team levels.

In developing multiple undertakings at the commune and production team levels, we must see farther into the future, think of a greater target and work more quickly. The people's communes have the superiority of being larger in size and of having a higher degree of public ownership. Once multiple undertakings are developed, the economy at the commune and production team levels will be strengthened. This will accelerate the development of agricultural mechanization and facilitate farmland capital construction on a large scale. This will not only help poor teams catch up with rich teams but also narrow the gaps between one team and another. This is an important material guarantee for the further development of the system of people's communes. "HEREIN LIES OUR GREAT, RADIANT HOPE."

#### RED FLAG CALLS FOR RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMY

OW070201Y Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 6 Jan 78 OW

[Excerpts of Commentator's article in RED FLAG, issue No 1 of 1978: "Strive To Rapidly Develop the National Economy"]

[Text] Holding high Chairman Mao's great banner and working hard together under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the party, army and people of various nationalities throughout the country have won initial success in 1977 in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land. The year 1977 was a major turning point for China's national economy. It constituted a new starting point for a steady upturn and leap forward following the economic fluctuation and stagnation caused by the interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and the gang of four.

With confidence and determination, the people in China have happily ushered in 1978--an important year for achieving marked success in 3 years in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land. This year the whole party, army and people of various nationalities throughout the country should strive to complete the fighting tasks set by the 11th National CCP Congress in order to achieve rapid development of the national economy.

Chairman Hua has pointed out: "The speed of construction is not just an economic but a political question." The situation at home and abroad requires us to increase speed. Our country is a socialist country in which development should be faster than that of capitalist countries. This development will specifically show the superiority of socialism. Without rapid construction we will be unable to ultimately defeat capitalism. The question of speed is also a question concerning the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance.

Internationally, a war will break out someday as the two hegemonic powers--the Soviet Union and the United States--are contending for world hegemony. The wild ambition of Soviet revisionism to subjugate China will never die. The task before us is to follow Chairman Mao's instruction "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," actively prepare ourselves against war, accelerate the modernization of China's national defense and improve our army's equipment. In order to accomplish this task, it is necessary to achieve rapid development of the national economy, which is also the aspiration of the people of China and the earnest hope of the people of the world. The 800 million Chinese people should have the lofty ambition to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced levels in economy and technology. The gang of four are the sworn enemies of the broad masses of people and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are a counterrevolutionary gang who sabotaged rapid development of the socialist economy.

Can we achieve rapid development? We should answer affirmatively. China is a vast socialist country with a large population and an abundance of natural resources. Its social system has opened up broad vistas for rapid development of the national economy. Our people, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, are diligent and brave and have a high degree of ideological consciousness and unlimited creative power. It is particularly significant that we have the Marxist-Leninist line and the general and specific policies formulated by Chairman Mao. We also have experience, both positive and negative, accumulated over the past 20 years and more. Since the Great Cultural Revolution, we have overcome the interference of the revisionist line pursued by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the gang of four. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is resolutely adhering to the line and the general and specific policies formulated by Chairman Mao. In such a situation, can we not achieve even more rapid development?

We are engaged in an extremely glorious and great undertaking which our predecessors never experienced. The next 23 years will be a period during which our national economy will advance in steady, giant strides.

In this new historical period, China should take the following steps in developing its national economy:

During the first phase, covering the last 3 years of the fifth 5-year plan, we should build an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial and economic system in our country and thus accomplish the splendid goal of the first of two stages set forth by Chairman Mao and announced by Premier Chou. During the second phase, covering the period of the sixth 5-year plan, we should develop our economy and construction to a relatively large extent and basically complete an economic system of six geographical regions which will have different levels and features and will coordinate with each other in developing agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. We should tremendously improve the backwardness of our present economy, remarkably improve people's material and cultural lives, greatly strengthen our country's economic and national defense capabilities and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the third phase and before the year 2000, we should accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. By that time, our economic and technological levels in most fields should be close to that of the most developed capitalist countries. In some fields, we should even catch up with and surpass them so that our national economy will advance in the front ranks of the world. In order to accomplish such a splendid goal, we must emancipate our minds, make some major strategic policy decisions and effect a significant breakthrough in speed.

In order to accelerate economic development, we must first deepen the great political revolution to expose and criticize the gang of four and carry it out thoroughly and to the end. Chairman Hua has pointed out: "The great class struggle to expose and criticize the gang of four is the fundamental motive force now propelling our cause forward." We should continue to pay attention to investigating individuals and incidents connected with the conspiracies of the gang of four. In particular, our permanent militant task is to penetratingly criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the gang of four, set to rights those things they turned upside down with regard to right and wrong in political line and clarify the economic policies they confused. We should continue to fight hard.

In order to accelerate economic development we must boost agricultural production. Because agriculture is the foundation of the national economy, rapid development of the national economy is impossible without rapid development of agriculture. We must make great efforts to develop agriculture and party committees at all levels should attach importance to agriculture. The entire party and country should foster the idea of taking agriculture as the foundation, and all professions and trades should make every effort to support agriculture. The development of agriculture depends primarily on learning from Tachai. The entire party should begin to develop agriculture in a big way and strive to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country.

In order to accelerate economic development, the industrial front should presently concentrate its forces on advancing the production of fuel, power and raw and semi-finished materials. Industry should take steel as the key link. Steel production will be accelerated if production of electric power, coal, iron ores and non-ferrous metals has been advanced and progress has been made in transportation. Electric power is a notable problem at present. In order to develop electric power we must also develop production of coal, petroleum, natural gas and raw and semi-finished materials and develop water conservancy and transportation. This is a question of strategic importance on which the entire party should achieve unity in thinking.

We should concentrate our main forces on major projects. The national economy will be invigorated if we develop basic industries and agriculture and increase production of grain, cotton, edible oil, sugar, electric power, coal, petroleum and steel.

In accelerating economic development, existing enterprises must tap their potentials and create technical innovations and transformations. Great potential exists in this respect. Our immediate goal is for all enterprises which have not reached their designed capacities to reach or surpass these capacities in 1, 2 or even 3 years, for enterprises whose economic and technological targets have not reached the highest level in history to reach or surpass that peak level this year, and for enterprises whose economic and technological targets have reached the peak level in history to advance toward a higher level.

As we accelerate economic development, we must pay particular attention to raising product quality, implement the general line for socialist construction in an all-round way and attach importance to achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. Priority should be given to product quality.

In accelerating economic development, scientific and technological work should advance in the vanguard. If we are to greatly boost the development of the national economy, it is necessary to speedily master the advanced science and technology of the contemporary world. Our pressing obligation in speeding up the realization of the four modernizations is to effectively improve our scientific and technological work and train a large contingent of scientists and technicians who are both Red and expert.

Improving standards of management is also a very important matter in accelerating economic development. We must understand and master objective laws governing economic development and constantly improve our standards of organizing and managing the economy. We must strengthen unified planning and improve our system of industrial management. We must reorganize our industry in a planned and systematic way on the basis of the principle of specialized cooperation. The system of responsibility must be strictly followed. We must uphold the principles of "to each according to his work," "he who works more gets more" and "he who works less gets less" and combine spiritual encouragement. We should use price laws to serve socialism.

In our country, socialist revolution and construction have entered a new stage of development. The prospect of a new leap forward in the national economy is taking shape. Our management standards cannot keep up with efforts to go all out to develop the national economy. The tasks we face are arduous. Party committees at all levels and leading cadres must redouble their efforts in studying, striving to become both Red and expert, going among the masses to conduct investigations and summing up experience well so that their knowledge will conform to the development of the objective situation and suit the requirements for realizing the four modernizations.

#### KWANGMING DAILY EXAMINES CLASS DIFFERENTIATION

HK181400Y Peking KWANGMING DAILY in Chinese 9 Jan 78 p 3 HK

[ "Readers and Authors" column: "Class Differentiation and the Relationship Between the Emergence of Revolution and the Productive Forces" ]

[Summary] Lo Yuan-cheng [5012 0337 6927] and Hsueh Yung-ying [5641 3057 2019] wrote a letter in answer to the questions raised by Chang Wen-hsiang [1728 2429 4382] in connection with their article entitled "Criticizing the 'Gang of Four's' Fallacy of Opposing the Modernization of the National Economy," which appeared in KWANGMING DAILY on 19 December 1977. Chang Wen-hsiang asked: Why was there no class differentiation in the primitive community? What is the factor leading to the abolition of classes? What is the relationship between class differentiation and the productive forces? Lo Yuan-cheng and Hsueh Yung-ying answered as follows:

"We believe that there is complete identity between the following two Marxist doctrines: 1) The productive forces alone are the ultimate decisive force in production relations and in all other social relations, including politics; 2) revolution is the locomotive of history. The development of the productive forces is the cause of social revolution (see "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 82-83 and "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p. 519); it is a yeast to social transformation (see "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 535). [paragraph continues]

"However, this does not mean that the social system will change as a natural consequence of the development of the productive forces. Only revisionists like Bernstein and Kautskiy entertained this idea. Marxism holds that the development of the productive forces will lead to the aggravation of contradictions between the production relations and the productive forces, between the economic base and the superstructure. This kind of contradiction invariably finds expression in the clash of material interests between different social groups (classes). In class society, this is manifested as class contradiction and will lead to class struggle. Class struggle gives an impetus to social development. As Chairman Mao said: 'When the productive forces have developed, there is bound to be a revolution.' 'When tools call for a revolution, they will speak through men.' ("Selected Works of Mao Tsetung," Vol 5, p 319) After the productive forces have been liberated through revolution, society will advance to a higher stage. Therefore, Marx said: 'Revolution is the locomotive of history.'"

"There is both a connection and difference between the development of the productive forces and the emergence of revolution. The development of the productive forces is the material base for the emergence of revolution." For a revolution to take place, it must fulfill this subjective requirement: The class or social group making the revolution must be mature. According to this principle, we can understand why the old systems could prolong their feeble existence after the development of the productive forces has reached a stage where social revolution is necessary.

The development of the productive forces means the development of revolutionary factors. In the present situation, it means the development of socialist and communist factors. "It is only through revolutionary struggles carried out by different classes in society that the development of the productive forces can change the social system and ultimately abolish classes."

We said that class differentiation is the result of the inadequate development of production. But we want to point out that this "inadequacy" is only relative to the "full development" of communist society, not to the inferior productive forces of the primitive community." By "differentiation," we mean the division of people into different social groups (classes) in class societies. Class differentiation in these societies is of course based on people's economic status and political attitude. There isn't any direct link between class differentiation and the productive forces.

#### PEOPLE'S DAILY STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF 'INDIGENOUSNESS'

HK191635Y Peking PEOPLE'S DAILY in Chinese 15 Jan 78 P 6 HK

[Article by Hsia Chi-yen (1115 4949 1693): "Indigenousness"]

[Text] The indigenousness (tu chi 0960 3051) under discussion here is the fine tradition and style of the party. But in the eyes of some comrades, it has become a derogatory term.

For example, a certain county in Hopei Province constructed many public buildings without authorization. To begin with, this was a violation of state rules and regulations. But, as if this was not enough, some leading cadres in this county even complained about the "indigenous" look of these buildings. At a time when people throughout the county were still living in shacks as a result of the damage caused by the earthquake, they were avid about building big halls and convention centers. They even raised this call: "A not very modern building should not look indigenous 10 or 20 years from now." To them, "indigenousness" is simply something disgusting. These comrades get carried away by the expanding economy and the growing affluence. They think more about their own ease and comfort, go in for extravagance and displays of splendor, and show little concern for the sufferings of the masses.

The spirit of plain living, hard work, diligence, frugality and self-reliance long advocated by Chairman Mao has either been forgotten or else just paid lip service to, but actually ridiculed and disdained as "indigenousness."

"Are we not going to advance toward the four modernizations? Are we not going to learn from the advanced science and technology of other countries? Reliance on indigenous methods simply will not work." Apparently these comrades are putting the cart before the horse, or at least are troubled by muddled ideas. It is true we want to scale the heights of modernization and introduce the latest "modern" ideas from other countries. Ideas which are of use for building a modern socialist country, be they foreign, new, most advanced or most sophisticated, are all needed. But there is one precondition: We must base ourselves on self-reliance. In other words, we cannot discard "indigenousness." Without indigenous means, there can be no modern "foreign" things. Only by incessantly carrying forward the "indigenous spirit" handed down from the Chingkang Mountains and Yenan can we scale the heights of modernization. Otherwise, we will become self-seekers and spend thrifits.

Indigenousness reflects our revolutionary aspirations. It is the revolutionary inheritance which all our future generations must inherit. The work style adopted by the leaders of the above mentioned county is actually a perverse trend which will do damage to our revolutionary inheritance. We should give these comrades a shove and make them think soberly: How much revolutionary aspiration do you have? How far have you deviated from the road charted by Chairman Mao? Can you glibly talk about modernization if you have lost your revolutionary aspirations and the Yenan spirit?

#### MANY YOUTH DO WELL IN COLLEGE ENROLLMENT EXAMINATIONS

OW192129Y Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese 0105 GMT 19 Jan 78 OW

[By NCNA correspondent Chou Chang-nien]

[Excerpts] Peking, 19 January 1978--As a result of the reformed college enrollment system, China has widened the road for recruiting outstanding, talented youths to carry out the four modernizations. The reformed system calls for a broader selection of college-bound students. Subsequently, vast numbers of youths actively responded by taking college entrance examinations. But the results of this test of their educational levels show that the effects of the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" on education are still very serious. Despite this, many youths fared well in the examinations, thanks to their successful efforts in resisting the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" and in acquiring political, cultural and scientific knowledge.

A comrade of the Ministry of Education in charge of the college entrance examinations said: This examination was a general test of college-bound students' moral, intellectual and physical qualities. Selection of students was based on merit. It is expected the quality of students selected and accepted into colleges this year will markedly surpass that of past college entrants.

A number of exceptionally outstanding youths emerged in various parts of the country as a result of the latest college entrance examinations. The number of students who first passed the written English examination and then were invited to take the oral examination at the Peking Institute of Foreign Languages far exceeded the number of openings. Many applicants for admission to this institute could even fluently answer questions in English, asked by the examining teachers, and correct their errors in English also. More than 17,000 students applied for admission to the Central Conservatory of Music which has only a little more than 130 openings this year.

Following the examinations, the number of students who reached the level of acceptance for the conservatory also exceeded the number of its openings. Among them are several promising artists.

These facts vividly reflect the truth that a reformed college enrollment system has broadened the prospects for discovering and recruiting talented youths and for building a huge contingent of working class intellectuals who are both Red and expert. This victory on the educational front is the result of the efforts of the party Central Committee headed by our wise leader Chairman Hua in holding high Chairman Mao's great banner and in grasping the key link and running the country well.

#### EDUCATION MINISTRY EMPHASIZES RUNNING KEY SCHOOLS

HK190545Y Peking KWANGMING DAILY in Chinese 13 Jan 78 p 1 HK

[Article by the Theoretical Group of the Ministry of Education: "It Is Imperative to Run a Group of Key Schools Well"]

[Text] In order to build China into a great, modern and powerful socialist country within 23 years it is urgently necessary to train and bring up large numbers of Red and expert qualified people for construction. Running key schools well is a strong and effective method for improving the standard of teaching and speeding up the training of qualified people.

In as early as May 1953, great leader and teacher Chairman Mao had instructed us that we must run key schools well. Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution and in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, we ran schools, trained large numbers of qualified people who developed in an all-round way morally, intellectually and physically, and accumulated experience for further running key schools well. This achievement cannot be denied. However, because of the interference of Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line and the one-sided pursuit of promotion to higher grades, the students were made to shoulder an excessively heavy study load that had an adverse effect on their health. Now, we must sum up both the positive and negative aspects of the experience and continue to run key schools well.

For a long time, the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" interfered with and sabotaged the work of our school in the training of qualified people in various specialities. In particular, the sabotage of education by the "gang of four," a bane to the country and the people, was most serious. They stigmatized the key schools of those 17 years as "sinister models," "stubborn strongholds of the feudal, bourgeois and revisionist education line," and "the highest level for the training of bourgeois intellectuals." Even now, people turn pale at the very mention of their names, are still troubled by unforgotten trepidation and afraid "to take the former road."

Advancing education so that it will correspond with the building of a powerful socialist country with the four modernizations is an arduous and urgent task. Chairman Mao pointed out: There can be no policy without key points. In socialist construction, we advocate the concentration of proper forces to properly carry out the construction of key enterprises having a bearing on the overall situation. In education work, it is also necessary to grasp key points. Given our country's present situation, only concentrating manpower, resources and financial power and by running a group of university, secondary and primary key schools well can we fulfill the urgent need of training qualified people. If there is no key point and forces are evenly distributed, it would naturally result in nothing being properly grasped.

Chairman Mao always advocated grasping the key points in leading overall work and practiced the method of integrating general calls with specific guidance. To make a success of the revolution in education it is necessary to have typical examples. [paragraph continues]

Running key schools well, carrying out experiments, moving ahead a step at a time and summing up experience for popularization will promote the deepening development of the revolution in education. Running key schools well and running ordinary schools well are a pair in unity. If key schools are properly run, they will also create experience for properly running ordinary schools. Judging from the overall situation, the proper running of key schools can promote the development and raise the standards of schools in general.

Chairman Mao also instructed us that it is necessary to integrate popularization with the raising of standards in the development of cultural and educational undertakings. Since liberation, there has been a very impressive development in China's education cause under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. At present, schools of every category and at every level are expanding and developing on a large scale, stepping up the rate of development and raising the quality of education. Running key schools is an important measure for raising the quality of education. In the manner of popularizing Taching-type enterprises and building Tachai-type counties, we must gradually develop and expand key schools by groups and in stages. At present, the schools that are still not yet designated as key schools should strive to do a good job of the revolution in education, raise the quality of education, actively create conditions and strive to enter the ranks of key schools as quickly as possible.

For a long time the "gang of four" tried their utmost to prevent the proletariat from running their key schools well, and they beguilingly spread all sorts of reactionary fallacies. We must resolutely criticize their fallacies and eliminate their pernicious influence.

They said that the running of key schools was for "cultivating revisionist seedlings and spiritual aristocrats." This kind of allegation is reactionary. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Actually, the class of qualified people educated and trained in a school is not decided by whether or not this school is a key school. The key lies in which class' line, policies and principles are being implemented in the school. In running key schools we hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao's education line and implement the policy of "education must serve proletarian politics and combine with productive labor" and "our education policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." From the primary school to the university, we must all take class struggle as the major course, adhere to the "7 May" road and combine education with the three great revolutionary movements. We must always place transforming the student's ideology in the fore and resist the corrosion of bourgeois ideas. Students graduating from such schools should be Red and expert in mental labor but also in physical labor. Naturally, because of class struggle in society it is possible that such schools will have a handful of students who fail to qualify, but this definitely is not the fault of running key schools.

They said that the running of key schools was for "carrying out bourgeois education of the genius." This allegation is even more ridiculous. The bourgeois "education of the genius" is based on the premise of class antagonism and has its class origin. Full of the prejudices of the exploiting class, they hold that only the children of the bourgeoisie possessed innate ability and could enter the "school for genius."  
[paragraph continues]

Such schools attack and discriminate against the children of the workers and peasants and exercise bourgeois cultural dictatorship over them. In running key schools, we adhere to the party's basic line, implement in an all-round manner the party's education policy and enroll outstanding students with all-round development morally, intellectually and physically from the masses of worker-peasant-soldier youths, and there is not the slightest resemblance between this and the "education of the genius" of the bourgeoisie. We oppose idealist apriorism and advocate the materialist theory of reflection. In the teaching at the schools we lay stress on linking theory with practice and combine education with productive labor, and this is fundamentally different from the bourgeois "education of the genius." As for discrepancies in intelligence and ability, these have always existed objectively. Such discrepancies are caused by the difference in environment and the difference in the conditions of study and practice of the people, extensively, whether or not one is good at study. We not only do not oppose "breakthroughs in to diligence and being good at study. Rich knowledge and outstanding ability are all due knowledge," but we also advocate respecting and valuing qualified people, extensively search for talented people and train them into useful qualified people for overtaking and surpassing advanced world levels in science and technology and for serving the socialist motherland. This is acting in accordance with the epistemology of dialectical materialism. How could this be considered "education of the genius"? The "gang of four" spread the reactionary fallacy that "running key schools must invariably lead to revisionism." Their sinister motive was to fundamentally negate Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, to sabotage the socialist education cause and the grand goal of realizing the four modernizations, and restore capitalism.

Running key schools is an important part of the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line that must be conscientiously grasped well. Based on concrete conditions in one's own district, department and enterprise, it is necessary to ascertain and properly grasp key universities, secondary schools and primary schools. In large and medium cities, it is possible to run key schools at the municipal, prefecture and county levels. Various provinces and autonomous regions can run key schools at the three levels of the province, the prefecture (municipality) and the county. The Ministry of Education has also run key schools. Attention must be paid to both the urban and rural areas in arranging for the distribution of key schools, and not only must we run key schools in cities and towns, but we must also run key schools in rural people's communes. It is necessary to pay attention to running schools in places where the workers live so that the children of the working people will have a better opportunity to attend key schools. Departments of industry and communications should also run key schools among those they are operating. These schools can place emphasis on the contents of their teaching. For example, the key schools run by the departments of petroleum, metallurgy, coal and geology could place stress on the fundamental knowledge and basic theory required by their respective professions. Taking part in corresponding labor at an early age is advantageous to the training of qualified people for their departments. Based on this spirit, 21 July workers universities, the 7 May universities and agricultural middle schools should also run a group well for it will be advantageous to summing up experience and directing work. Key middle schools can separately carry out enrollment in the prefectures, cities, towns and communes, adopt the method of combining the recommendations of former schools with enrollment tests, and select the better students on the principle of all-round moral, intellectual and physical assessment. Key primary schools can still enroll students based on the recent admission principle.

Party committees everywhere must strengthen leadership over the key schools. At present, it is necessary to somewhat strengthen the leading bodies' allocation for the key schools, raise the quality of the teachers a little and slightly improve such teaching tools as laboratory instruments and equipment. [paragraph continues]

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Under the premise of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, all departments concerned must give priority to arranging for the operational expenses, material and teaching equipment of the key schools. Priority should be given to guaranteeing the quality of the new students of the key schools. Key schools must implement the following policy: While their main task is to study, they should also learn other things, properly conduct political and cultural courses, properly implement the three-in-one combination of teaching, production and scientific experiment, build good study and work and study and farming bases, allocate the necessary teaching equipment, and strive to improve the quality of education. Key universities must gradually increase the amount of scientific research they do and study every branch of Marxist social science and natural science so that these schools will simultaneously become scientific research organs and an important front army for the modernization of our country's science and technology. Science and engineering courses must begin from the most advanced so as to inspire the students from the very beginning to advance toward the more extensive and profound. It is necessary to rely on their own efforts, adopt modern teaching methods to the extent possible and energetically develop extracurricular activities.

"Ten thousand years are too long, seize the day, seize the hour!" Comrades on the education battlefield! Let us in response to Chairman Hua's great call of "it is necessary to do a good job of the proletarian revolution in education" and amid the struggle for grasping the key link in running the school well, conscientiously grasp this matter of running key schools well, and for the cause of socialist revolution and construction, train and send out as quickly as possible large numbers of Red and expert qualified people for construction.

PEOPLE'S DAILY COMMENTATOR'S ARTICLE ON LITERATURE, ART

OW182144Y Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 16 Jan 78 OW

[PEOPLE'S DAILY 17 January Commentator's article: "Grasp the Key Link of Class Struggle and Run Literature and Art Well"]

[Excerpts] On New Year's eve, 1977, the Editorial Department of PEOPLE'S LITERATURE invited some literary workers in Peking to hold a discussion meeting. At that time, wise leader Chairman Hua wrote a very important inscription for PEOPLE'S LITERATURE. His brilliant inscription is a major event on the literary and art front in our country.

In order to develop our literature and art, it is necessary to firmly grasp the key link of exposing and criticizing the gang of four, thoroughly settle accounts with the gang of four's crimes in the literary and art field and thoroughly expose and criticize the gang of four's bourgeois factional networks in this field. Further deepening of the exposure and criticism of the "Theory of the dictatorship of the sinister line of literature and art" in all its manifestations is an important task in the third and present campaign of exposing and criticizing the gang of four on the literary and art front.

In order to develop our literature and art it is necessary to resolutely carry out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend"--the only correct policy for promoting development of socialist literature and art. To develop literature and art it is necessary to rapidly consolidate and develop the revolutionary literary and art ranks. These ranks have developed and grown under the personal attention of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, with the inspiration of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and through various struggles. The majority of the literary and art ranks are good and can stand the rigorous, stormy tests.

With the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua, with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and with the time-tested revolutionary literary and art ranks, we can surely bring about great order on our literary and art front in a short time, so long as we carry the struggle to deepen the exposure and criticism of the gang of four through to the end and conscientiously sum up our positive and negative experiences and lessons over the past 28 years by seeking truth from facts.

#### MEMORIAL SERVICE HELD 18 JAN FOR CCP'S CHUANG TAO

OW181947Y Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese 1200 GMT 18 Jan 78 OW

[Text] Peking, 18 January 1978--Comrade Chuang Tao, member of the CCP, representative to the Third National People's Congress and member of the party core group of the International Liaison Department of the CCP Central Committee, despite medical treatment died of illness on 10 January 1978 in Peking at the age of 60. A memorial service for Comrade Chuang Tao was held today at the auditorium of the Paoshan Revolutionary Cemetery.

#### AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY MINISTRY HOLDS AFFORESTATION CONFERENCE

OW141348Y Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese 0152 GMT 13 Jan 78 OW

[Excerpts] Peking, 13 January 1978--In compliance with wise leader Chairman Hua's instruction that "great efforts should be made to promote afforestation throughout the country," the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry held a telephone conference on the evening of 10 January. The conference urged comrades in all parts of the country to seize the hour and make good preparations so that spring afforestation work can be promptly started as soon as the season arrives in an effort to speed up forestry development. Attending the conference were leading comrades of departments concerned from various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, as well as leading comrades from some prefectures and counties. Also attending were representatives of concerned ministries and commissions of the State Council and representatives of the General Logistics Department of the Chinese PLA.

Lo Yu-chuan, vice minister of agriculture and forestry, spoke at the conference. After elaborating on the vital significance of accelerating forestry development, he pointed out: The key to rapid afforestation is for leading organs at all levels to strengthen leadership over forestry work in accordance with the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link and running the country well. It is necessary to conscientiously make plans for forestry development in various places and mobilize hundreds of millions of people in order to fight a people's war of afforestation.

He said: People from all walks of life constitute a main force in afforestation. In the past, they have made considerable achievements in this regard. For example, coal-mining departments have afforested a total of 3 million mou of land to obtain the shoring timber used in mining. The Fushun Mining Bureau in Liaoning Province has more than 200,000 mou of forested areas, which now supply some of the shoring timber required by this bureau.

Lo Yu-chuan stressed: In the mass afforestation movement, attention should be paid to the quality of work in various places. If quality is poor, speed means nothing. This is a lesson learned from the past when only a small proportion of the trees planted survived. Natural resource surveys conducted in recent years indicate that, of the forests built since the founding of our country, only 30 percent remain today. This is not only a grave loss and waste, but dampens the masses' enthusiasm for afforestation and has delayed this work.

At the conference, leading comrades in charge of forestry in Shansi, Hunan and Inner Mongolia reported their experience in accelerating afforestation by conscientiously implementing Chairman Hua's instructions.

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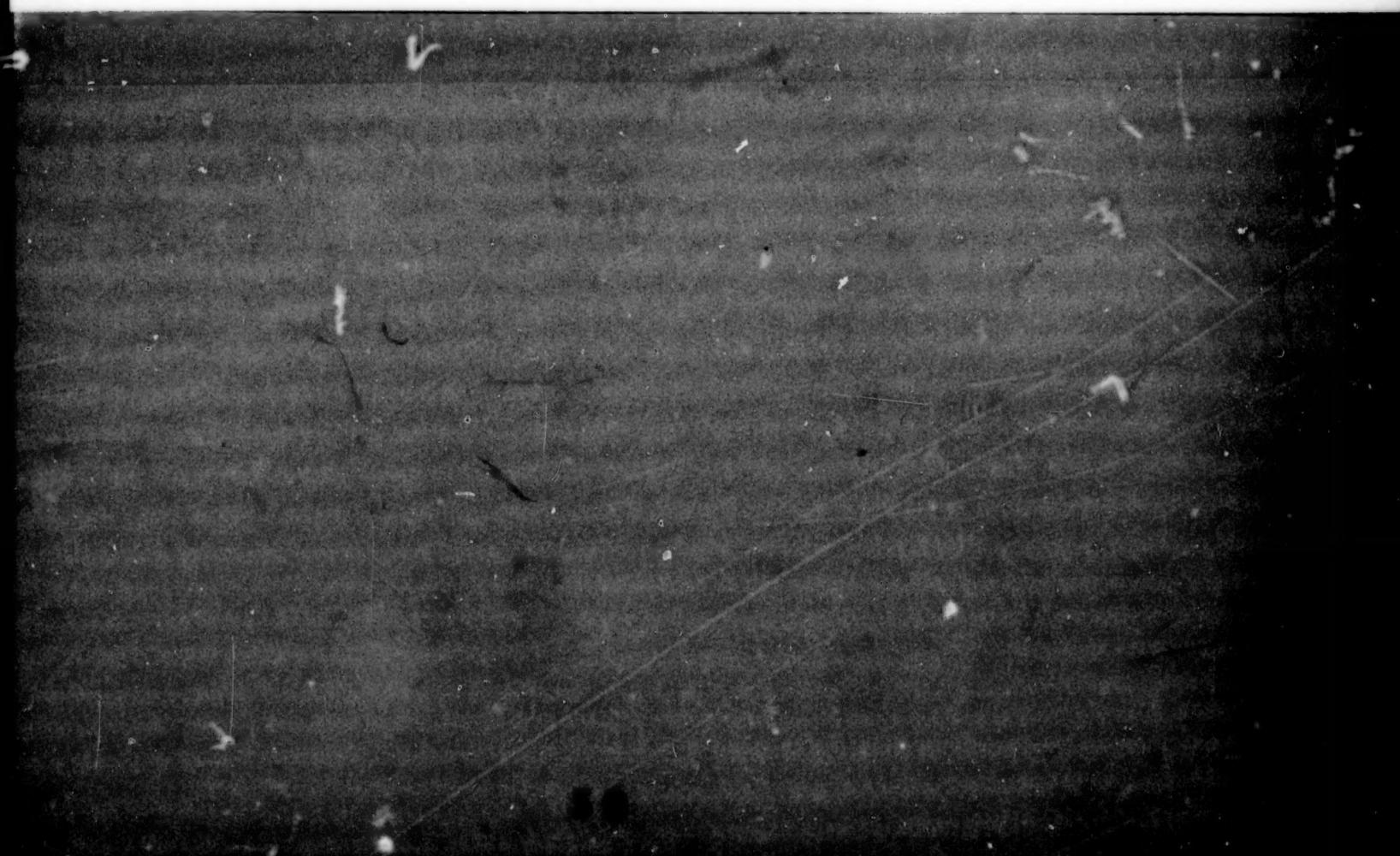
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